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THE

TRUE HISTORY

OF THE

CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

BY

CAPT. BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO,

ONE OF THE CONQUERORS.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1568.

———*Labore, et expenſis, et damno,*
Tempore, veritatis cognitio adquiritur.

Tranſlated from the original Spaniſh,
BY MAURICE KEATINGE, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

Tlaſcala, July, 1520. *Tranſactions and Occurrences there. Foundation of the Colony of Segura de la Frontera. Subjugation of the neighbouring Diſtricts by the Spaniards.* 1

CHAPTER II.

March of the Spaniards to beſiege Mexico, December 28th, 1520. *Inveſtment of Mexico, May 30th,* 1521. *Siege of that City, and final Conqueſt, Auguſt 16th,* 1521. 29

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

Tranſactions and Occurrences in New Spain ſubſequent to the Conqueſt. 131

CHAPTER II.

Expeditions of G. de Sandoval and P. de Alvarado. 151

CHAPTER III.

Armament of Franciſco de Garay. 161

CHAPTER IV.

Expeditions under various Officers. 206

PAGE

CHAPTER V.

Tranſactions in Old Spain. 233

CHAPTER VI.

Tranſactions and Occurrences in Old and New Spain. Expedition againſt the Zapotecans. 246

CHAPTER VII.

Expedition of Cortes to Higueras. 261

CHAPTER VIII.

Return of Cortes to Mexico. Occurrences there. Return of the Author to Mexico. 328

CHAPTER IX.

Cortes goes to Europe; is created Marquis of the Valley of Guaxaca. Account of various Tranſactions and Occurrences in Old and New Spain. Death and Character of the Marquis of the Valley. 352

CHAPTER X.

Enumeration and Account of the valiant Companions who paſſed over to the Conqueſt of New Spain with the moſt adventurous and magnanimous Don Hernando Cortes, Marquis of the Valley. Advantages reſulting from the Conqueſt. Tranſactions at Court. Concluding Obſervations of the Author. . 395

THE

THE TRUE HISTORY

OF

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

PART THE SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

Tlaſcala, July, 1520. Tranſactions and Occurrences there. Foundation of the Colony of Segura de la Frontera. Subjugation of the neighbouring Diſtricts by the Spaniards.

WE were thus, as I have mentioned, by the friendſhip of the Tlaſcalans, hoſpitably received and entertained in their city, after our fatigues, dangers and loſſes in the retreat from Mexico.

One of the firſt things done by Cortes on our arrival was, to inquire after the gold which had been brought there, to the value of forty thouſand crowns,

and which was the ſhare of the garriſon of Villa Rica. He was informed by the Tlaſcalan chiefs, and alſo by one of our invalids who remained there when we marched to Mexico, that the perſons who had been ſent from Villa Rica to receive it, had, on their return, been robbed and murdered on the road, at the time we were engaged in hoſtilities with the Mexicans. Another cauſe of uneaſineſs to us was, our uncertainty as to the ſituation of our countrymen at Villa Rica. Letters were ſent, to inform them of the events which had lately taken place, and deſiring them to ſend us what arms and ammunition they could ſpare, and a ſtrong reinforcement. We were informed, by the return of the meſſengers, that all continued well in the neighbourhood of that garriſon. The reinforcement alſo which had been required was immediately ſent. It conſiſted of ſeven men in the whole, three of whom were ſailors, and every one of them invalids. They were commanded by a ſoldier named Lencero, the ſame who kept the inn at preſent called by his name. For a long time afterwards "a reinforcement of Lencero" was a proverbial expreſſion with us.

We had now ſome trouble given us by the younger Xicotenga. This chief, on hearing of our misfortunes in Mexico, and of our being in march for his country, conceived the project of taking us by ſurpriſe, and putting us all to death; for which purpoſe he was very active in forming his party; and having

having aſſembled many of his friends, relations and adherents, he expoſed to them the facility with which it could be done. Theſe intrigues however could not go on long without coming to the knowledge of his father, who reproached him ſeverely for his treacherous conduct, aſſuring him that if it came to be known it would coſt the lives of him and all thoſe concerned with him. The young man however perſevered, paying no regard to what his father ſaid, and the affair at length coming to the ears of his mortal enemy Chichimecatecle, he immediately gave information of it; whereupon, a council was ſummoned of all the chiefs to take the affair into conſideration, and Xicotenga was brought priſoner before them. Maxicatzin was the orator upon the occaſion, and ſpoke at conſiderable length in favour of the Spaniards; he ſaid that proſperity had attended their nation ever ſince our arrival amongſt them; that we had enabled them to eat ſalt with their proviſions, and that we were certainly thoſe of whom their anceſtors had ſpoken. He then reprobated and expoſed the conduct of the younger Xicotenga. In reply to this, and to the diſcourſe of his father to the ſame purpoſe, the young man made uſe of ſuch outrageous and diſreſpectful language, as induced them to ſeize him by the collar, and throw him down the ſteps of the building into the ſtreet, and he very narrowly eſcaped with his life; but Cortes did not think it prudent in his preſent ſituation to carry matters any farther. Such was the fidelity of our

Tlaſcalan

Tlaſcalan allies; with whom we at this time ſtaid two-and-twenty days.

Cortes meditated an attack upon the adjoining provinces of Tepeaca and Zacatula, on account of the murders committed by theſe people upon the Spaniards, and determined to ſet out upon it at the expiration of the above-mentioned period; but when he came to propoſe this to his troops, he found the univerſal ſentiment of the ſoldiers of Narvaez decidedly againſt it. They thought they never could get back ſoon enough to their houſes and mines in the iſland of Cuba; and the ſlaughter of Mexico, and battle of Obtumba, made them deſire to renounce all connexion with Cortes, his riches and his conqueſts. But beyond all others Andres de Duero, his friend and companion, moſt heartily curſed the day he had embarked with him in the buſineſs, and the gold which he had been forced to leave in the ditches of Mexico. They all totally declined any connexion with his new ſchemes, and, finding that words did not avail them, they made a requiſition in form to that effect, ſtating the inſufficiency of our force, and demanding licences to return to Cuba. Cortes, having received and read the memorial, replied to it, giving at leaſt ten reaſons for his plan, to every one they alledged againſt it. His own ſoldiers alſo addreſſed him on the occaſion, requeſting him on no account to give permiſſion to any one to depart, but that we ſhould all remain together, as being moſt conducive to the ſervice of God

God and his Majeſty. At length they were obliged to acquieſce, with a very ill grace, and much murmuring againſt Cortes and his expeditions, and againſt us who ſupported him in them, and who, as they ſaid, had nothing to loſe but our lives. Cortes on his part made them a general promiſe, that by the next convenient opportunity he would ſend them to their iſland of Cuba.

The hiſtorian Gomara in his account of this tranſaction makes no diſtinction between us and the ſoldiers of Narvaez, as if we were equally concerned in preſenting the memorial; and this he does in order to enhance the merits of his hero, Cortes, and to depreciate us the true conquerors of Mexico, becauſe we did not think it became us to bribe him with gifts to ſpeak favourably of us, when we were thoſe, and thoſe only, who ſupported Cortes. And now this hiſtorian would annihilate our reputations, in ſaying, forſooth, that we memorialed!!

It would have better become this hiſtorian to attend more to matters of fact, and leſs to his figures of rhetoric, in what he writes. I have been aſtoniſhed at that part of his relation where he aſſigns the victory at Obtumba ſolely to the valour of Cortes. I have ſaid before, that it was in the firſt inſtance owing to God's mercy; I ſay alſo that Cortes did every thing that ought to be expected from a wiſe and valiant general, and that he owed his ſucceſs, under God, to the

the ſtout and valiant captains, and to us brave ſoldiers, who broke the force of the enemy, and ſupported him by fighting in the manner we fought, and as I have related. What that hiſtorian ſays relative to his charging the general and bearer of the royal ſtandard of Mexico is true, and it was Juan de Salamanca, afterwards alcalde major of Guacacualco, who killed him with his lance, and preſented the ornamented plume to Cortes; which plume his Majeſty was afterwards pleaſed to give Salamanca in his coat of arms. Not that I am unwilling to aſcribe all due honour to our Cortes; for I know that he deſerves it; and if it was the cuſtom, as formerly, to give triumphs to generals, he is more worthy of one than any Roman. Gomara alſo greatly exaggerates the numbers of our Indian allies, and the population of the country beyond all reaſon; for it was not the fifth part of what he repreſents it. According to his account there would have been more thouſands here than inhabit all Caſtille; but where he has written eighty thouſand we ſhould read one thouſand. All this he has done in order to make his narrative the more agreeable. In my hiſtory I tell the truth, word for word, as it happened, without looking to ornaments of rhetoric; for I conſider myſelf obliged to adhere to matters of fact, and do not deal in flatteries.

We now ſet out on our march, to puniſh the diſtricts of Cachula, Tepeaca, and Tecamachalco, without artillery

artillery or fire arms of any kind, for all had been left in the ditches of Mexico. Our force conſiſted of ſixteen cavalry and four hundred and twenty infantry, moſtly armed with ſword and target, with about four thouſand Tlaſcalans. We halted at night at the diſtance of three leagues from Tepeaca; but the people of the place had deſerted their houſes on our approach. We made ſome priſoners on our way, by whom Cortes ſent to the chiefs to inform them that we came for the purpoſe of obtaining juſtice for the murder of eighteen Spaniards, who had been without any cauſe put to death in croſſing their territories; and alſo to know the reaſon of their entertaining Mexican troops, and to warn them that, if they did not immediately treat with us for peace, we would make war againſt them with fire and ſword. However terrible our language was, that of their anſwer, conveyed by our meſſengers and two Mexicans, was much more ſo; for the Mexicans were elevated by their ſucceſſes againſt us at the bridges. Cortes treated them very kindly, and declared every wiſh to forget and forgive the paſt, but all could not do; they ſent back for anſwer, that if we did not return immediately, they would put us all to death, and make a feaſt upon our bodies.

Upon this Cortes called a council of the officers, and it was then determined, that a full ſtatement of all which had paſſed ſhould be officially drawn up by a royal notary, whereby all the Mexicans and allies of

of the Mexicans who had killed Spaniſh ſubjects, after having given obedience to his Majeſty, ſhould be declared in a ſtate of ſlavery. This being duly drawn up and atteſted, we once more ſent to require them to come in, giving them notice of the conſequences of their contumacy; but they returned an anſwer ſimilar to their former one. Both ſides then prepared for battle, and on the next day we came to an action with them. This battle taking place in open fields of maize, our cavalry ſpeedily put the enemy to flight, with conſiderable loſs, though they made a ſtout reſiſtance; but our allies fought gallantly, and purſued them hotly, and we took many boys for ſlaves.

The Mexicans being thus defeated, the natives came in to ſue for peace; we accordingly proceeded to the town of Tepeaca, to receive their ſubmiſſion, and on that ſpot was founded our ſettlement of Segura de la Frontera, the ſituation being eligible, as on the road to Villa Rica, and in a fertile diſtrict. The municipal officers were immediately appointed, and the iron brand was made here for the purpoſe of marking thoſe natives who were taken for ſlaves; they were marked with the letter G, for "Guerra," or war. We made excurſions through the diſtrict, and to the towns of Cachula, (where they had put fifteen Spaniards to death in the houſes) Tecamechalco, Las Guayavas, and many others whoſe names I do not recollect; taking a number of priſoners, who were

were immediately branded for ſlaves. By theſe means, in about the ſpace of ſix weeks we reduced the people to order and obedience.

At this period another prince of the blood royal was elected to the throne of Mexico, for the former one, who had expelled us from that city, was dead of the ſmall pox. The new king was named Guatimotzin; he was a young man, about the age of twenty-five years, of elegant appearance, very brave, and ſo terrible to his own ſubjects that they all trembled at the ſight of him. When the intelligence reached this prince of what had happened in Tepeaca, he began to be apprehenſive for his other provinces, neglecting, however, nothing that it was in his power to do to induce the chiefs to continue ſteady to him; and he alſo ſent conſiderable bodies of troops to watch our movements.

Cortes now received letters from Villa Rica, informing him that a veſſel had arrived at the port, commanded by a gentleman named Pedro Barba, who was his intimate friend. He had been lieutenant under Velaſquez at the Havannah, and had now brought with him thirteen ſoldiers and two horſes; he alſo brought letters from the governor of Cuba to Narvaez, who was thought to be by this time all powerful in New Spain, ordering him, if Cortes was not already dead, to ſend him to Cuba, that he might be thence tranſmitted to Caſtille, ſuch being the directions of

the biſhop of Burgos. As ſoon as Pedro Barba arrived in the harbour, the officer whom Cortes had appointed admiral went to viſit him, taking with him in his boat a ſtrong crew, with their arms concealed. When he came on board he ſaluted Barba and the reſt courteouſly, and inquired after the health of the governor of Cuba. The others in their turn inquired after Narvaez, and what had become of Cortes. They were told that Cortes was a fugitive, with about twenty of his companions, and that Narvaez had eſtabliſhed himſelf, and was in poſſeſſion of great riches. They then invited Barba and the reſt on ſhore to refreſh themſelves, to which they aſſenting deſcended into the boats, where they were bid to ſurrender themſelves inſtantly priſoners to Cortes. They had no alternative, and were obliged to ſubmit. The ſhip was diſmantled, and the captain and crew ſent to us in Tepeaca, to our great ſatisfaction; for though we did not ſuffer much in the field, yet continual fatigue had made us very unhealthy, five of our ſoldiers having died of pleuriſies within a fortnight. With this party came Franciſco Lopez, afterwards regidor of Guatimala. Barba was exceedingly well received by Cortes, who was informed by him that he might expect the arrival of another ſmall veſſel with proviſions, within the ſpace of a week, which accordingly happened. On board the laſt mentioned ſhip came a gentleman, native of Medina del Campo, by name Rodorigo de Lobera, eight ſoldiers, and one horſe. Our friends purſued the

the ſame method with this veſſel that they had done with the former, and with the ſame ſucceſs. The party joined us in a few days, it being no ſmall ſatisfaction to us thus to find our army recruiting its numbers.

The new king of Mexico having ſent large bodies of troops to thoſe provinces that were neareſt to the Spaniſh army, they became very diſorderly, robbing and outraging the people. Theſe provocations induced the natives to ſend four chiefs ſecretly to negociate with Cortes, offering to ſurrender themſelves to him, provided he would give them his aſſiſtance to expel the Mexicans. Cortes immediately acceded to the propoſal, and ordered for this ſervice the whole of the cavalry and croſs-bow-men, under the command of Chriſtoval de Oli. A conſiderable number alſo of Tlaſcalans were joined in the expedition. Several of the captains who had come with Narvaez were appointed to command in this detachment, which amounted in the whole to above three hundred ſoldiers. As our people were on their march, converſing with the Indians, they received ſuch accounts from them of the force of the enemy, as entirely deprived the ſoldiers of Narvaez of what little inclination they ever had for military expeditions, and made them doubly anxious to return to their iſland of Cuba, being utterly averſe from a repetition of the days of Mexico and Obtumba. They began to grow very mutinous, and told their chief in plain terms that if he

was

was determined to perſiſt in his attempt he might do it by himſelf, for that they were all reſolved to quit him. De Oli remonſtrated with them upon the impropriety of ſuch conduct, in which he was ſupported by all the ſoldiers of Cortes, but in vain; he was compelled to yield to their perverſeneſs, and halt in Cholula, from whence he wrote to Cortes, informing him of his ſituation. When Cortes received his letter, he immediately returned an angry meſſage, ordering him poſitively to advance with his whole force, at all events. When De Oli received this, he fell in a violent rage with thoſe who had brought that reprimand on him, and, ordering the whole to march immediately, declared he would ſend back any one who heſitated to Cortes, to be treated by him as a coward deſerved.

When he arrived within a league of Guacacualco, he was met by ſome chiefs, who informed him in what manner he might beſt come upon the enemy. Having in conſequence ſettled his plan of attack, he marched againſt, and after a ſharp action defeated, the Mexican troops, and put them completely to flight, with the loſs, on his part, of two horſes, and eight wounded. Our allies this day made a great ſlaughter of the Mexicans, who fell back, and rallied at a large town called Ozucar, where were other great bodies of their troops. Here they made a poſt, fortifying themſelves and breaking down the bridges; but De Oli, turned into a tyger by the reproof of Cortes,

Cortes, purſued them, without halting, with as many of his troops as he could bring up. By the aſſiſtance of his Indian friends of Guacachula, he contrived to paſs the river, and, falling on the Mexicans, diſperſed them again, with the loſs of two more horſes killed; his own horſe was alſo wounded in ſeveral places, and De Oli himſelf received two wounds. Here he halted for two days, after the action, and all the principal people waited on him to ſubmit as vaſſals to his Majeſty. Their allegiance being accepted, and the country reſtored to peace, he returned with his force to the town of Segura de la Frontera.

Not having been on this expedition, the account I have given is ſuch as was related to me by thoſe who were. De Oli was received by Cortes and all of us with great ſatisfaction; we laughed heartily at him for his counter march, in which he joined with us, and ſwore that for the next expedition he was ſent on he would take the poor ſoldiers of Cortes, and not the rich planters of Narvaez, whoſe minds were more intent upon their houſes and eſtates than upon feats of arms, and who were much more ready to command than to obey. Gomara ſays that it was the people of Guaxocingo who gave the information to the officers of Narvaez; but this is abſurd, for the laſt mentioned town was entirely out of their route, and it is exactly the ſame thing as ſaying, that if we were to ſet out from Medina del Campo

to

to travel to Salamanca, we ſhould go round by Valladolid.

While we were here, Cortes received letters from Villa Rica, whereby he was informed that a veſſel had arrived there, commanded by a perſon of the name of Camargo, having on board upwards of ſeventy ſoldiers, all very ſickly. She was one of thoſe which had been ſent to eſtabliſh a colony at Panuco,* and brought intelligence that the other captain who had been ſent thither, named Pineda, with all his ſoldiers, had been put to death by the Indians, and that their ſhipping had been burned. Camargo therefore, finding the ill ſucceſs of that attempt, had come to Villa Rica for aſſiſtance, his men being afflicted with liver complaints, which their yellow and dropſical appearance demonſtrated. This officer was very well acquainted with the ſituation of affairs, and had been, it is ſaid, a Dominican friar. Having diſembarked his ſoldiers, he ſet out with them, and arrived by ſlow marches at La Frontera, where they were kindly received by Cortes, and attended with as much care as we could beſtow them; but the captain and many of the ſoldiers very ſoon died. On account of their morbid colour and ſwollen bodies, we uſed to call them "the green paunches." In order to avoid the interference of foreign matters with the thread of my narrative, I will now inform my reader that, one after another, at different and irregular periods,

* By F. de Garay, governor of Jamaica.

riods, all the remains of this armament arrived at the port of Villa Rica. Amongſt others was an Arragonian named Miguel diaz de Auz. He brought upwards of fifty ſoldiers, with ſeven horſes, with which he immediately joined us, being the moſt effectual reinforcement we had for a long time received. This captain de Auz ſerved vey well during the war in New Spain. It was he who afterwards had a lawſuit with a brother-in-law of Cortes, named Andres de Barrios, whom we uſed to call "the Dancer." The law-ſuit was about the diviſion of Meſtitan, which was awarded afterwards as follows: He had the ſurplus of the rents, beyond two thouſand five hundred crowns, on condition of not entering upon the diſtrict for the ſpace of two years, becauſe he was accuſed of having killed Indians there and in other places where he had been. Another of Garay's veſſels arrived ſhortly after at our port. In this came an officer named Ramirez, called by us "the Old." He brought with him forty ſoldiers, ten horſes, croſsbows and other arms. Thus Garay continually ſent us reinforcements, thinking that his colony was going on well in Panuco. All theſe ſoldiers joined us at Tepeaca. Thoſe who came with Miguel diaz de Auz, as they were plump and in good condition, we named "the Sirloins;" and as the ſoldiers of old Ramirez wore cotton armour which was very thick and clumſy, ſo that no arrow could penetrate through it, we called them "the Pack-horſes."

Cortes

Cortes, having been thus reinforced to the amount of an hundred and fifty ſoldiers and twenty horſes, determined to puniſh the Cacatame and Xalacingo Indians, with ſeveral others who had been concerned in the murders of Spaniards. Twenty cavalry and twelve croſs-bow-men made part of the force ſent againſt them, the whole of which conſiſted of two hundred of the veterans of the army of Cortes, and a body of Tlaſcalans, commanded by Gonzalo de Sandoval. Our detachment received intelligence that the enemy were in arms, fortified, and reinforced by Mexican troops. Sandoval therefore arranged his plan of attack, firſt ſending to inform that he would pardon the deaths of the Spaniards, provided they ſubmitted, and returned the treaſure. The anſwer they ſent back was, that they would eat him, and all thoſe with him, in the ſame manner that they had done the others. Sandoval then proceeded to attack them, which he did in two places at the ſame inſtant: and, notwithſtanding that both the natives and the Mexicans fought with great ſpirit, they had no better ſucceſs than on former occaſions, being defeated and purſued with a conſiderable loſs. Our people after the action going into ſome of their temples, found clothes, arms, bridles and ſaddles, preſented as offerings to their gods. Sandoval declared his intention of halting three days there, and he alſo now again demanded from them the treaſure which had been taken. They readily ſubmitted themſelves to his Majeſty, but, in regard to the treaſure, they

ſaid

ſaid that it was no longer in their power, having been tranſmitted to Mexico. Sandoval referred them to the general for their pardons, and returned with his troops, having made a conſiderable number of women and boys priſoners, all of whom were immediately marked with the iron. I was not on the expedition, being ill of a fever, and throwing up blood at the mouth; but I was bled plentifully, and, thanks to God, recovered. In conſequence of the directions given by Sandoval, the chiefs of theſe nations, and alſo of many others in the neighbourhood, came in and made their ſubmiſſions to Cortes. This expedition was productive of the very beſt effects. The fame of Cortes extended through all their countries, for valour and for juſtice, and he was much more dreaded and reſpected than Guatimotzin, the new ſovereign of Mexico; inſomuch that his deciſion was requeſted in the moſt important litigations. The ſmall pox was now ſo prevalent in New Spain, that many of the great lords of the natives died with it. In ſuch caſes the claimants to the ſucceſſion called on Cortes for, and abided by, his deciſion, as ſovereign lord of the country. There were at this period great diſputes relative to the lordſhips of Ozucar and Guacachula, which being referred to Cortes, he decided the cauſe in favour of a nephew of Montezuma, whoſe ſiſter had married the cacique of that diſtrict.

At this time Cortes ſent Sandoval to puniſh the people of the diſtrict called Cocotlan, where they had

put to death nine Spaniards. Sandoval took with him thirty cavalry and one hundred infantry, with a ſtrong body of Tlaſcalans. On his entry into the diſtrict he ſummoned theſe people, holding out as uſual threats on the one hand and invitations on the other; to which the Indians replied, that they acknowledged no other government than that of Mexico, and that they were very well able to defend themſelves. They had here a conſiderable force of Mexican auxiliaries, who encouraged them to reſiſtance. As ſoon as Sandoval received this meſſage, he put his troops in order, and cautioned his allies not to advance to the attack at firſt, on account of their diſordering the cavalry, but to wait until the enemy were broken by our troops, and then to fall on the Mexicans. Two large bodies of the enemy were met by our army, in a ſtrong ſituation; they made a firm reſiſtance, and before Sandoval could extricate his cavalry from the difficult and rocky ground, they had killed one and wounded nine of his horſes, and four ſoldiers. At length, having driven them from this poſt, he advanced to their town, and there aſſaulting them and the reinforcements which had joined them, at their poſt in the temples, and large walled encloſures, with the good aſſiſtance of his Indian allies, whoſe keenneſs was increaſed by the abundance of plunder, he totally defeated and put them to flight. Sandoval halted here for two days, during which the chiefs came in and made their ſubmiſſions. He demanded of them the property and effects of the Spaniards whom they had put

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to death, but they replied that it was out of their power to return them, they having already burned the whole. They alſo ſaid that moſt of the Spaniards they had killed were eaten, five of them having been ſent to their monarch Guatimotzin. They promiſed a plentiful ſupply of proviſions, apologized for what was paſſed, and Sandoval, being able to do no more, was fain to accept their ſubmiſſions.

As all this country was now brought under ſubjection, Cortes determined, with the approbation of his Majeſty's officers, to mark the priſoners and ſlaves previous to the taking out the royal fifth and his own. An order was in conſequence given out that the ſoldiers ſhould bring all their priſoners to an appointed place, which was a large houſe in the town, for this purpoſe. It was accordingly done; they conſiſted of women, boys and girls of the Indians, (for as to the men they were too troubleſome to keep) and our Tlaſcalan friends, to whom they were given by us, did us all the ſervice we could deſire from them. The priſoners remained in confinement during the night, and in the morning the repartition took place. Firſt the royal fifth was ſelected, and then that of Cortes; and thus far all went on very well; but when the ſoldiers' ſhares came to be allotted, behold! we found that ſome one had been there in the night, and taken every handſome and good Indian that was there, leaving us nothing but a herd of old, ugly and miſerable

rable jades. This of courſe made a great murmur amongſt the ſoldiers, who loudly charged Cortes with having conveyed away and concealed all the valuable ſlaves; and the ſoldiers of Narvaez ſwore they never heard of ſuch a thing as two kings, and two fifths, in his Majeſty's dominions! Among the reſt one Juan de Quexo ſaid he would make it known in Caſtille how they were treated; and another plainly told Cortes how he had abuſed them in regard to the gold in Mexico; for that when the diviſion was made there appeared only three hundred thouſand crowns in value, and when our flight took place he produced above ſeven hundred thouſand; all which had been regularly atteſted. And now the poor ſoldier, who had worn himſelf to nothing with fatigue, and was full of wounds, when he had gotten a good female Indian priſoner, and given her clothing and ornaments, found that ſhe was taken from him! "When the order was given," ſaid the ſoldier, "every one thought that the ſlaves were only put in to be marked and valued, and that each would get his own back, paying the fifth of the value which ſhe was rated at to his Majeſty, and that Cortes was to have no farther claim on them whatever." He added a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, but worſe than what I have mentioned. When Cortes heard theſe exclamations againſt him, he made anſwer, ſwearing by his conſcience (his uſual oath) that it never ſhould happen ſo again, and he proteſted that in future better regulations ſhould be adopted. Thus, with

with ſmooth words and fair promiſes on his part, the affair paſſed over.

But I have now ſomething to mention worſe than this; it has been already related how, in the fatal night of the retreat from Mexico, the treaſure was produced, and all the ſoldiers given liberty to take as much as they choſe of it; many of thoſe of Narvaez loaded themſelves with gold; ſome alſo of ours did the ſame; to a great many this coſt their lives, and none, who eſcaped with life and what they had carried off, but were ſeverely wounded. After all this, however, Cortes came to know that in our garriſon here at La Frontera a quantity of gold in bars was in circulation, and that deep gaming was going on amongſt our ſoldiers; wherein our companions had forgot the old proverb, which ſays that "wealth and armours ſhould be kept concealed." He iſſued an order for all the gold to be brought in within a given time, under the ſevereſt penalty in caſe of diſobedience, promiſing, on a fair delivey, to return the third part, but threatening, in caſe of failure or evaſion, that the whole ſhould be forfeited. Many of the ſoldiers refuſed, and from ſome Cortes took it by way of loan; but indeed rather by main force than free will. As many of the captains, and alſo of thoſe who had offices under his Majeſty, were poſſeſſed of gold, a compromiſe took place, whereby no more was ſaid about the order; but it was a very bad tranſaction on the part of Cortes.

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The officers of Narvaez thought this a good juncture to renew their ſolicitations to Cortes for permiſſion to return to Cuba. After much trouble and many efforts on their part, Cortes aſſented, promiſing that on the conqueſt of Mexico he would give his friend Andres de Duero much more wealth than he had ever poſſeſſed. He made ſimilar offers alſo to the other captains, eſpecially to Auguſtin Bermudez. Thoſe who were determined to return he ordered to be provided with whatever was neceſſary for their voyage, ſuch as maize, dogs ſalted, fowls, &c. and, giving them one of the beſt ſhips in the harbour, he wrote letters by them to his wife Donna Catalina Xuarez Marcayda, and to his brother-in-law Juan Xuarez, informing them of all that had happened; and he alſo tranſmitted to them by the ſame opportunity ſome bars and ornaments of gold. The following perſons were among thoſe who returned to Cuba at this time, with their pockets well lined, after all their diſaſters: Andres de Duero, Auguſtin Bermudez, Juan Buono de Quexo, Bernardino de Queſada, Franciſco Velaſquez the Hump-backed, a relation of the governor of Cuba, Gonzalo Carraſco, (who returned afterwards to this country, and lives in La Puebla) Melchor Velaſco, and one Ximenes, who lives in Guaxaca; (he went for his ſons:) alſo the commendador Leon de Cervantes, who went to bring over his daughters; (after the conqueſt of Mexico he married them to very honourable connexions:) one Maldonado, alſo of Medellin, an invalid,

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(not he who married Donna Maria del Rincon, nor the big Maldonado, nor the other of that name whom we called Alvaro Maldonado "the Fierce") who was married to a lady named Maria Arias: there was alſo one Vargas, whom we nicknamed "the Gallant," (I do not mean the Vargas who was father-in-law to Chriſtoval Lobo:) Cardenas the pilot alſo went: it was he who talked of the two kings. Cortes gave him three hundred crowns for his wife and children: with many others, whom it would be too prolix to enumerate. When Cortes was remonſtrated with on letting ſo many quit us in our weak ſtate, he replied, that he did it partly to get rid of their importunities, and partly becauſe they were not fit for war, and that it was better to be alone than badly accompanied. He ſent Alvarado with them in order to ſee them ſhipped, and at this time he alſo diſpatched De Ordas and Alonzo de Mendoza to Caſtille, with certain inſtructions, the tenor of which we were ignorant of; as we alſo were of what was going on in that country relative to us, except that the biſhop of Burgos declared us all traitors, and that Diego de Ordas anſwered very well for us, and got for himſelf the order of St. Jago, and for his coat of arms the volcano which is between Guaxocingo and Cholula. But theſe affairs ſhall be related in their proper time. Cortes alſo ſent captain Alonzo de Avila, contador of New Spain, and Franciſco Alvarez, a man of buſineſs, to make a report to the royal court of audience, and the

the brothers of the order of Jeronymites in St. Domingo, of all that had happened, more particularly relative to Narvaez; and alſo to inform them, how he had puniſhed by ſlavery thoſe guilty of revolt and murders, and meant to purſue the ſame meaſures with all thoſe people who adhered to the alliance of the Mexicans. He alſo ſupplicated their intereſts in repreſenting our faithful ſervices to the Emperor, and their ſupport againſt the miſrepreſentations and enmity of the biſhop of Burgos.

Cortes likewiſe at this time ſent a veſſel to Jamaica for horſes, commanded by one De Solis, whom we afterwards called De Solis de la Huerta. Some will aſk how he was able to ſend agents to Caſtille, to St. Domingo, and Jamaica, without money. To this I reply, that on the night of our retreat from Mexico, though many of our ſoldiers were killed, yet a conſiderable quantity of gold was ſaved, as the firſt who paſſed the bridge were the eighty loaded Tlaſcalans; ſo that though much was loſt in the ditches of Mexico, yet all was not left there, and the gold which was brought off by the Tlaſcalans was by them delivered to Cortes. But as to us poor ſoldiers who had no command, but were commanded, it was enough for us to eſcape with our lives, and all badly wounded too, without troubling ourſelves what was done with the gold, nor how much of it was brought off; and it was alſo ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that the treaſure which fell to the ſhare of the garriſon of Villa Rica, and of which

which thoſe who were entruſted with the conveyance were robbed, went after all to Old Caſtille, Jamaica and elſewhere. But the ingots of gold in the captains' pockets ſtopped all inquiry upon that head.

The ſiege of Mexico being now determined on, Cortes left a garriſon of twenty men, moſtly ſick and wounded, under the command of Franciſco de Orozco, in the town of Frontera, and proceeded with the reſt of his force to the country of Tlaſcala, where he ordered timber to be cut for the conſtruction of the veſſels to command the lake of Mexico. The ſhips were to be conſtructed under the directions of Martin Lopez, an excellent ſhipwright, and one who was moſt highly ſerviceable to his Majeſty's intereſts here in other reſpects, beſides being a valiant ſoldier. When we arrived at Tlaſcala, we found that our good friend, and the faithful ally of our monarch, Maxicatzin, had fallen a victim to the ſmall pox. Cortes lamented him as if he had been his father, and put on mourning in reſpect to him, as did many of our captains and ſoldiers. As there was ſome diſpute in regard to the ſucceſſion, Cortes ſettled that it ſhould be with the legitimate ſon of our friend, as he had deſired at his death; a ſhort time previous to which, having ſummoned his family into his preſence, he had ſtrictly enjoined them never to quit our alliance, as we were undoubtedly thoſe who were deſtined to rule that country. The other chiefs of that nation offered their aſſiſtance in providing timber, and alſo

to aid us in the war againſt the Mexicans. Cortes received their propoſals with every mark of attention and gratitude, and at that time propoſed to one of them, the elder Xicotenga, to turn chriſtian; to which he readily aſſented, and was baptized in great ceremony by the name of Don Lorenzo de Vargas.

Our ſhipwright Lopez managed his buſineſs ſo well, that in a few days he had all his timber cut, ſhaped and marked for each particular part of the veſſels. He was aſſiſted by a good ſoldier named Andres Nunez, and by old Ramirez the carpenter, who was lame with a wound. Cortes obtained from the port of Villa Rica the iron work, ſails, and other neceſſaries to equip the veſſels; and he alſo ordered to be ſent to him what ſmiths were there, amongſt others, Aguilar, of which name their were three amongſt us, but this was the man we called "the ironmauler." As pitch was wanting, and was unknown to the natives of thoſe countries, he ſent four ſailors to the pine woods of Guaxacingo, which are very conſiderable, to obtain a ſupply of that article. Some curious perſons have aſked me why Cortes ſent Alonzo de Avila, who was ſo valiant a captain, on an affair of negociation, when he had men of buſineſs, ſuch as Alonzo de Grado, and Juan de Caceres the rich, and others whom they have named to me. To this I reply, that Cortes ſent Avila becauſe he was a brave man, and would not be afraid to ſpeak out on any neceſſary occaſion in order to obtain juſtice; and therefore, to avoid being oppoſed and

and thwarted by him, and to give his company to Andres de Tapia, and his office of contador to Alonzo de Grado, Cortes choſe to ſend him upon buſineſs to St. Domingo.

Now that the timber of the veſſels was all ready for the dock yard, and that thoſe who came with Narvaez no longer moleſted us with their fears and ſurmiſes, there was great difference of opinion amongſt us on the ſubject of eſtabliſhing our poſt, in order to prepare for the inveſtment of Mexico. Some ſtrongly recommended Ayotcingo, as moſt convenient on account of the canals; others, amongſt whom was Cortes, as ſtrongly inſiſted on the eligibility of Tezcuco, as moſt advantageous for making incurſions upon the Mexican territory. The deciſion being at length for Tezcuco, juſt as we were ready to march we were interrupted in our movements for an inſtant, by intelligence that a veſſel had arrived at Villa Rica from Europe and the Canary iſlands, loaded with military ſtores, merchandize, and horſes. It was commanded by one Franciſco Medel, but the owner of the property, who came with it, was one Juan de Burgos. There were alſo on board thirteen ſoldiers. We were in high ſpirits on receiving this intelligence, and Cortes having ſent orders to purchaſe the whole cargo, we loſt not a moment in ſetting forward on our route for Tezcuco, after we were joined by the people who came on board the veſſel. Amongſt theſe were one Juan del Eſpinar, afterwards

terwards a very rich man; one Sagredo, uncle to the woman called La Sagreda, in the iſland of Cuba; and a Biſcayan named Monjaraz, uncle to two of that name who were ſoldiers with us, and father to the handſome woman who afterwards came to Mexico, called La Monjaraza. This man never was in any expedition or engagement with us, always pretending to be ſick, though he miſſed no opportunity of boaſting of his valour. When we beſieged Mexico, he ſaid he would ſee how the natives fought, for he had no opinion of their bravery. He accordingly went to the top of a very high temple, like a turret, and no one ever could tell how it was, but certain Indians killed him on that very day. Thoſe who had known him in the iſland of St. Domingo ſaid that it was God's judgment on him for having had his wife, a good, honourable and beautiful woman, put to death by the perjury of falſe witneſſes.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

March of the Spaniards to beſiege Mexico, December 28th, 1520. Inveſtment of Mexico, May 30th, 1521. Siege of that City, and final Conqueſt, Auguſt 16th, 1521.

ON the day after the feaſt of the nativity we ſet forward towards Tezcuco with our full force, and accompanied by ten thouſand of our Tlaſcalan allies. On the ſame night we halted in a part of the territory of Tezcuco, the inhabitants of the place ſupplying us with proviſions. The next night we halted at the foot of the ridge of mountains, having made a march of about three leagues; we found here a very ſevere cold. Early the next day we aſcended the mountains, the bad roads through which were made more difficult by cuts, or dikes, abbatis of trees, and the like, which required the utmoſt exertions of our allies to remove. Proceeding thus however with much regularity and precaution, we reached the ſummit, a company of muſketeers and croſs-bow-men being in our front, and our allies clearing the way for the cavalry. Deſcending a little, we came to that part from whence we diſcover the whole extent of the city, lake and plain of Mexico, with all its towns riſing as it were out of the water; and here we returned thanks to God for permitting us again to behold this city.

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We now obſerved ſignals made by ſmoke in the different places towards Mexico, and a little farther on we fell in with a body of the enemy who were poſted at a bad paſs, where a broken wooden bridge croſſed a deep water cut. We ſoon drove them from thence, and paſſed over without difficulty, the enemy contenting themſelves with ſhouting at us from a diſtance. Our allies pillaged as they went along, contrary to the inclination of Cortes, who was not able to reſtrain them. We halted for this night at a town in the territory of Tezcuco, which the inhabitants had abandoned. We had got intelligence, by ſome Mexicans we made priſoners in the laſt ſkirmiſh, that large bodies of the enemy waited for us in front; but it afterwards appeared that they had ſeparated, in conſequence of feuds, and indeed a civil war, which exiſted between the Mexicans and thoſe of Tezcuco. The ſmall pox alſo, which was at the ſame time very deſtructive in the country, contributed in a conſiderable degree to prevent their armies from aſſembling.

On the next morning we again ſet forward on our march for Tezcuco, which was diſtant about two leagues; but we had proceeded a very ſhort diſtance, before one of our patroles came to us with intelligence that ten Indians were on the road, with ſigns of peace. The whole of the country alſo through which we marched exhibited every ſign of moſt perfect tranquillity. When theſe Indians arrived, we found that they compoſed an embaſſy, conſiſting of ſeven chieftains

chieftains of Tezcuco. A golden banner borne upon a long lance was carried before them, and when they came near us the banner was lowered, and they bowed their bodies. Addreſſing Cortes in the name of their lord Cocoivacin, the prince of Tezcuco, they then requeſted to be received under our protection, inviting us to their city, and preſenting to us, as a token of peace, their golden banner. They utterly denied having any part in the attacks with which we had been threatened, and requeſted that no injury might be done to their city by us or our allies. Three of theſe ambaſſadors were perſonally known to moſt of us, for they were relations of the good Montezuma, and captains of his guards. Cortes earneſtly requeſted the Tlaſcalan chiefs to prevent their people from pillaging, and his wiſhes were ſtrictly attended to, excepting only in the article of proviſions.

It clearly appeared that this embaſſy was a mere pretence; nevertheleſs the ambaſſadors were aſſured that every protection ſhould be afforded to the country, but were at the ſame time told, that it could not be unknown to them how above forty of the Spaniards and two hundred of our allies were put to death within their territories when we retreated from Mexico. For the loſs of lives Cortes ſaid no reſtitution could be made, but the gold and other property they might return. They in reply threw the blame upon the prince who had ſucceeded Montezuma, and who they ſaid received the ſpoil, and ſacrificed the priſoners.

ners. Cortes therefore found that little was to be got from them, and we proceeded to a village in the outſkirts of Tezcuco, named Guatinchan, or Huaxutlan, where we halted for the night. On the enſuing morning we arrived at Tezcuco, and immediately remarked that neither women or children were to be ſeen, and the men appeared as if they were meditating ſome miſchief againſt us. We took up our quarters in ſome buildings which conſiſted of large halls and encloſed courts, and received orders not to quit them, and to be very alert. Alvarado, De Oli, and ſome ſoldiers, whereof I was one, then aſcended to the top of the great temple, which was very lofty, in order to notice what was going on in the neighbourhood. We obſerved that all the people were in movement, carrying off their children and effects to the woods, the reedy borders of the lake, and to a number of canoes collected for the purpoſe. Cortes now wiſhed to ſeize the chief who had ſent him the embaſſy, but found that he had fled to Mexico, with many other perſons of rank. We poſted ſtrong guards for the night, and as in ſo large a city there are many different parties and factions, and thoſe perſons who were adverſe to the preſent chief having remained, Cortes on the next morning ſent for them, and inquired into the ſtate of their government. They aſſured him that their preſent chief, Cocoivatzin, was an uſurper, having murdered his elder brother Cuſcuxca, and was ſupported only by the prince then on the throne of Mexico, and whoſe name

name was Guatimotzin. They pointed out the youth who was the right heir, and who was immediately conducted into the preſence of Cortes, by whoſe order he was baptized with much ſolemnity, being called after his godfather, Don Hernando Cortes; after which he was appointed lord of Tezcuco. Cortes in order to retain him in our holy faith and in the intereſts of Spain, and alſo to inſtruct him in our language, ordered three perſons to attend upon him; Anthonio de Villaroel, married to the handſome Iſabel de Ojeda; a bachelor named Eſcobar, captain of Tezcuco; and Pedro Sanches Farfan, a good ſoldier, married to the worthy and honourable lady Maria de Eſtrada. Cortes then required of him a number of Indian labourers to open the canals, in order to bring his veſſels to the lake. He alſo explained to him his plan of attacking Mexico, to which the young prince offered aſſiſtance to the utmoſt of his power.

Our captains were at this time aſſigned their different poſts, in caſe of a ſudden attack upon our quarters, the reigning prince in Mexico frequently ſending out his troops upon the lake, in expectation of taking us unprepared. Some neighbouring people, whoſe diſtrict is called Guatinchan, and who had been guilty of offences in the murders of our countrymen, now petitioned for and obtained pardon. The work upon the canals went on moſt rapidly, as

we never had leſs than from ſeven to eight thouſand Indians employed.

Coadlavaca, late upon the throne of Mexico, was lord of Iztapalapa, the people whereof were bitter enemies to us, and our declared allies of Chalco, Talmalanco, Mecameca, and Chimaloacan. As we had been twelve days in Tezcuco, ſo large a force cauſed ſome ſcarcity of proviſions; idleneſs had alſo made our allies grow impatient; and for thoſe reaſons it became neceſſary to take the field. Cortes therefore proceeded towards Iztapalapa, at the head of thirteen cavalry, two hundred and twenty infantry, and the whole body of our Indian confederates. The inhabitants had received a reinforcement of eight thouſand Mexicans, and, as we approached, they fell back into the town; but this was all a concerted plan; they then fled into their canoes, the reeds by the ſide of the lake, and alſo to thoſe houſes which were in the water, where they remained quietly, leaving us in poſſeſſion of that part of the town which was on the firm land. As it was now night, we poſted our guards, and were repoſing contentedly in our quarters, when all on a ſudden there came on us ſuch a body of water by the ſtreets and into the houſes, that, if our friends from Tezcuco had not called to us at that moment, we ſhould have been all drowned; for the enemy had cut the banks of the canals, and alſo a cauſeway, whereby the place was laid under water as it were inſtantaneouſly. As it happened,

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two of our allies only loſt their lives, but all our powder was deſtroyed, and we were glad to eſcape with a good wetting. We paſſed the night badly enough, being ſupperleſs, and very cold; but what provoked us moſt was the laughter and mockings of the Indians upon the lake. Worſe than this however happened to us, for large bodies from the garriſon of Mexico, who knew of the plan, croſſed the water and fell on us at day break with ſuch violence that it was with difficulty we could ſuſtain their attacks. They killed two ſoldiers and one of our horſes, and wounded a great many. Our allies alſo ſuffered a conſiderable loſs on this occaſion. The enemy being at length beaten off, we returned to Tezcuco, in very bad humour, having acquired little fame or advantage by our expedition.

Two days after our return from our laſt expedition, the people of three neighbouring diſtricts, viz. Tepetezcuco, Obtumba, and another which I do not recollect, ſent to ſolicit pardon for the offences they had committed, excuſing themſelves, by alledging the commands of Coadlavaca. Cortes, making a merit of neceſſity, gave them a free pardon, knowing very well that he was not in a ſituation to do otherwiſe. The people alſo of that place called Venezuela, or Little Venice, who had always been at enmity with the Mexicans, now ſolicited our alliance; a circumſtance highly uſeful, from the ſituation of that town within the

the lake; and they promiſed alſo to bring over their neighbours to us.

Intelligence was ſoon received, that large bodies of Mexican troops had fallen upon the diſtricts in alliance with us, the inhabitants of which, being afraid to remain at home, were flying to the woods or to our quarters for protection. Cortes ordered out twenty cavalry and two hundred infantry, twenty three muſketeers and croſs-bow-men included, and, taking Alvarado and De Oli with him, proceeded to the towns of Guatinchan and Huaxutlan. The reports appeared to have foundation, but the real cauſe of contention was, the crop of Indian corn on the borders of the lake, which was now fit to reap, and from which the people of Tezcuco and the others ſupplied our proviſions; but the Mexicans alſo laid claim to it, and it appeared that the produce of theſe fields went to the prieſts of Mexico. Cortes told them to inform him when they thought it neceſſary to cut the corn, and accordingly, at that time, a body of one hundred or upwards of our ſoldiers, attended by the allies, went out to cover the reapers. I was twice on that duty, and had one ſmart ſkirmiſh. The Mexicans croſſed over in upwards of a thouſand canoes, and attacked us in the maize fields, but we and our allies drove them back to their boats, with the loſs of one ſoldier of ours killed, and many wounded. They fought like men, and left behind them twenty dead, and

and we alſo took five priſoners. At this time other neighbouring diſtricts ſolicited our alliance.

There were two places, named Chalco and Talmalanco, of ſome conſequence, as being between our army and Tlaſcala. They were now poſſeſſed by the Mexican troops, and though Cortes had ſeveral petitions for protection, he thought it neceſſary above all things immediately to diſlodge theſe Mexicans, that ſuch of his allies as wiſhed it might return home, and alſo in order to obtain his ſhip timber from Tlaſcala. He therefore ſent a force for this purpoſe, under Sandoval and De Lugo, conſiſting of fifteen cavalry and two hundred infantry, and he gave theſe officers orders to break completely the Mexican force, whereby we ſhould obtain a clear communication with Villa Rica. Our allies of Chalco were ſecretly informed of our intention, in order that they ſhould be ready to ſupport us. Sandoval had put ten of his party in the rear as a guard, and to protect the allies who were returning home with his detachment, and who were loaded with plunder. The Mexicans fell upon them on their march with conſiderable impreſſion, owing to the weakneſs of the rear guard, of which they killed two, and wounded the reſt; and, although Sandoval inſtantly flew to their relief, the Mexicans contrived to reach the lake. Sandoval cenſured the people in the rear for this, throwing the whole blame on them; he then put the Tlaſcalans in ſecurity, and having ſent the letters with which he

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was intruſted to the commandant of Villa Rica, in which Cortes ordered him to ſend what reinforcements he could to Tlaſcala, there to wait until it ſhould be aſcertained that the route from thence to Tezcuco was clear, he diſmiſſed the allies to their province, and returned to Chalco, which diſtrict he had reaſon to apprehend was filled with the troops of the Mexicans.

On his road he was attacked, in a plain covered with maize and maguey, by a body of the enemy, who wounded ſeveral of his party; the cavalry drove them to a diſtance, after which he purſued his route to Chalco. Having informed the principal people of this place of his intention to march to Tezcuco on the enſuing day, they informed him of their determination to go with him, and for the following reaſon. Their lord was lately dead of the ſmall pox. He had on his death-bed recommended his ſons to the protection of Cortes, being convinced that we were thoſe of whom their anceſtors had propheſied, when they ſaid that men with beards ſhould come to govern them; and he therefore enjoined his ſons to receive their dominions from the hands of our chief. Sandoval accordingly marched for our head quarters, bringing with him the young lords of Chalco, who experienced a moſt gracious reception from Cortes, and they preſented him with ornaments of gold amounting in value to above two hundred thouſand crowns. Cortes divided the diſtrict between

tween them, giving Chalco and the larger part to the elder brother, and Talmalanco, Ayocingo, and Chimalcan, with other places, to the younger. By ſome Mexican priſoners Cortes ſent a meſſage to the reigning prince in that city, couched in the moſt inviting and amicable terms, in order to induce him to come to an accommodation; but Guatimotzin would not hear them, and perſiſted in the moſt active hoſtility againſt us. Frequent complaints came to us at this time of the incurſions made by the enemy upon our allies of Guatinchan and Huaxutlan, in the neighbourhood of the lake, upon the old cauſe of the fields ſown for the ſervice of the Mexican temples; in conſequence of which, Cortes being determined to put a ſtop to theſe inroads, and marching with a ſtrong party for that purpoſe, came up with the enemy at the diſtance of about two leagues from Tezcuco, and ſo completely broke and defeated them, though with no very conſiderable loſs on their ſide, that they did not ſhow themſelves there again.

As it was reſolved to loſe no time in the grand object of our enterpriſe, Sandoval, attended by twenty of the principal people of Tezcuco, marched with a detachment of two hundred ſoldiers of the infantry, twenty muſketeers and croſs-bow-men included, and fifteen cavalry, from Tezcuco, in order to bring the timber to conſtruct our ſhips on the lake of Mexico. Before they ſet out, Cortes

tes effected a reconciliation between the Tlaſcalans and the Indians of Chalco, who had long been hoſtile. He gave directions to Sandoval, after he had left the chieftains of Chalco in their own town, to proceed by a place named by us Puebla Moreſca, the inhabitants of which had robbed and put to death upwards of forty of our ſoldiers, who were on their march from Vera Cruz to Mexico, when we went to the relief of Alvarado. Sandoval had orders to inflict an exemplary puniſhment on them, not that their guilt was more than that of the people of Tezcuco, who were the leaders of the buſineſs, but becauſe they could be puniſhed with leſs inconvenience. The place was put under military execution. Some few of the inhabitants were made priſoners, and when Sandoval inquired of them in what manner they had deſtroyed the Spaniards, they informed him that they were fallen on by the troops of Mexico and Tezcuco, by ſurprize, in a narrow paſs where they could only go in ſingle file, and that it was done in revenge for the death of Cacamatzin. Not more than three or four of theſe people loſt their lives, as Sandoval had pity on them. In the temples were found many traces of the blood of our countrymen upon the walls, their idols were beſmeared with it, and we found the ſkins of two of their faces with their beards, dreſſed like leather, and hung upon the altars, as were alſo the ſhoes of four horſes, together with their ſkins,

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very well dreſſed. The following words were found written upon a piece of marble fixed in the wall of one of the houſes: "Here was taken the unfortunate Juan Juſte, with many others of his companions." This Juſte was a gentleman who came with Narvaez, and ſerved in the cavalry. Theſe ſad remains filled the minds of Sandoval and his party with rage and grief; but there was no poſſibility of obeying the dictates of their feelings, for the men were all fled, and the women and children bewailed their fate in the moſt affecting terms. Sandoval therefore ſent them to their huſbands and fathers, whom they induced to come in and ſubmit. In anſwer to the queſtions put to them relative to the gold, they declared that it had all been claimed by the Mexicans. Sandoval now continued his march to Tlaſcala, and when he came near the capital of that country he fell in with a vaſt body of Indians employed in tranſporting the timber, and conducted by Chichimecatecle, and our ſhipwright Martin Lopez. The order theſe people came in was as follows: Eight thouſand men carried the timber, ready ſhaped for every part of the thirteen veſſels; eight thouſand more followed as a guard with their enſigns and arms; and a third body of two thouſand, as a relief, and with proviſions for the whole. Several Spaniards joined us with this eſcort, and alſo two great Tlaſcalan chiefs, named Teuleticle and Teatical. The enemy appeared only in ſmall bodies at a diſtance, but it was thought neceſſary to uſe much precaution,

conſidering the extent of the line of march, and the danger of a ſurpriſe. Sandoval ſent ſome of his troops in front, and poſted others on the flanks, while he remained at the rear guard with the Tlaſcalans, to whom he aſſigned that poſt. This arrangement gave their chief, Chichimecatecle, great offence; but when he was informed that it was there the Mexicans were moſt likely to attack, his pride became pacified. In two days more the whole body arrived at Tezcuco, in great triumph and pomp, the allies wearing their fineſt habits and great plumes of feathers, with drums, horns and trumpets ſounding. Thus they continued marching into our quarters, without breaking a file, for the ſpace of full half the day, ſhouting out, "Caſtilla! Caſtilla! Tlaſcala! Tlaſcala! live his Majeſty the Emperor."

Our timber being all now laid ready at the docks, in a very ſhort time, by the great exertions of Lopez, the hulls were completely finiſhed; but we were obliged to keep the ſtricteſt guard, as the Mexicans ſent three parties to endeavour to ſet them on fire.

The Tlaſcalans were anxious to be ſent on ſome enterpriſe, and Cortes indulged them by declaring his intention to march on the enſuing day to Saltocan, a town which had neglected our ſummons to a ſubmiſſion. For this purpoſe he ordered two hundred and fifty infantry and thirty cavalry, the whole of the Tlaſcalans, and a body of the warriors of Tezcu-

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co. He appointed the captains Alvarado and De Oli to act under him, and having left the poſt of Tezcuco, where it was always neceſſary "to have the beard upon the ſhoulders," under the care of Sandoval, and ordered Lopez to have the veſſels ready to launch within the ſpace of fifteen days, he ſet out with the above force upon his expedition. When he approached Saltocan, he was met by large bodies of the Mexican troops, whom the cavalry drove to the woods. The troops halted for the night in ſome villages, in a country thickly inhabited. They were kept very alert, for it was known that the enemy had a conſiderable force in Saltocan; and a body of Mexicans had been ſent thither in large boats, and was at this time concealed in the deep canals of the neighbourhood.

On the enſuing day, at the commencement of the march, our troops were aſſailed by the enemy, and ſeveral were wounded, without our cavalry having it in their power to retaliate, on account of the number of canals. The only cauſeway which led to the town on the land ſide they had completely inundated, and our muſketry was of no effect againſt the enemy in their canoes, being ſo well guarded by ſtrong ſcreens of timber. All this contributed to give our people a diſguſt to the expedition. Some Indians of Tezcuco, who had joined our army, at this time pointed out a paſs to one of our ſoldiers; upon which, our people put themſelves into march, and under the direction of

of their guide croſſed the canals and waters, and at length reached the road which led to the town, Cortes with the cavalry remaining on the other ſide. Our troops advanced againſt the town, and made a conſiderable ſlaughter of the Mexicans, driving the remainder, and the natives of the place, to their boats. They then returned to Cortes, with a conſiderable booty of ſlaves, mantles, ſalt, and gold. We loſt one ſoldier by this expedition.

On the enſuing day Cortes marched againſt a large town called Culvatitlan, through a very populous country. We found the place to which we marched totally deſerted, and here we halted for the night. On the enſuing day we proceeded to another large town called Tenayuco, but which we named the town of the ſerpents, on account of the enormous figures of theſe animals which we found in their temples, and which they worſhipped as gods. This place we alſo found deſerted, and we proceeded a league farther to that which we called the town of the goldſmiths. This place was alſo deſerted, and our troops marched half a league farther, to Tacuba, our ſoldiers being obliged to cut their way through conſiderable numbers of the natives. In this town our troops halted for the night, and on the next day they were aſſailed by bodies of the enemy, who had ſettled a plan to retreat by their cauſeways, in order to draw us into an ambuſcade. This in part ſucceeded; Cortes and our troops purſued them acroſs a bridge, and were

were immediately ſurrounded by vaſt numbers on land and in the water. The enſign was thrown over the bridge, and the Mexicans were dragging him to their canoes, yet he eſcaped from them with his colours in his hand. In this attack they killed five of our ſoldiers, and wounded many. Cortes perceived his imprudence, and ordered a retreat, which was effected with regularity, our people fronting the enemy, and only giving ground inch by inch. Juan Volante, the enſign who fell into the lake, had a jealouſy with one of our ſoldiers, Pedro de Ircio, about a certain woman. The latter in order to affront him uſed ſome abuſive language, which Volante did not deſerve, being a very valiant gentleman, as he had ſhown on that and many other occaſions. Cortes halted here for five days, and then returned to Tezcuco, the Mexicans haraſſing his march; but, having been once defeated in an ambuſcade which Cortes laid for them, they deſiſted. When our troops arrived at head quarters, the Tlaſcalans, who had enriched themſelves by plunder, were anxious to go home, which Cortes readily gave them permiſſion to do.

During four days after this expedition, the Indians of ſeveral neighbouring diſtricts came in with preſents and declarations of ſubmiſſion. Cortes received all in good part, although he knew very well that they had been concerned in murders, diſmiſſing them with promiſes of protection. Other applications of a more embarraſſing nature were alſo made at this time;

time; for the nations in our alliance came with painted repreſentations of the outrages committed on them by the Mexicans, and requeſting ſuccour. Cortes was hardly able to grant them aſſiſtance, from the ſtate of our army, which, excluſive of our loſs by killed and wounded, was grown very unhealthy. He however promiſed them his ſupport, but told them to rely more on their own exertions, and that they ſhould be aſſiſted by the neighbouring people of our alliance. For this purpoſe he gave them letters of ſummons to the reſpective diſtricts to aſſemble againſt the common enemy. The different diſtricts, having aſſembled their forces, met the Mexicans in the field, and had an action with them, in which they exerted themſelves with ſucceſs. The province of Chalco however was an object of more importance; the poſſeſſion of that country was requiſite for our communication with Villa Rica and Tlaſcala, and for the ſubſiſtence of our troops, as it was a corn country. It was much haraſſed, and therefore Cortes ſent Sandoval with about two hundred and fifty of our troops, cavalry and infantry, accompanied by what few of our Tlaſcalan allies remained with us, and a company of thoſe of Tezcuco, to clear it of the enemy.

On the twelfth day of March, one thouſand five hundred and twenty one, after hearing maſs, Sandoval ſet out, and arrived in the diſtrict of Chalco. On the enſuing morning he reached Talmanalco, where he

he received information that the Mexican force was poſted at a large town called Guaxtepeque. The warriors of Chalco accompanied our troops, who halted for the night at the town of Chimalcan. On the next morning Sandoval ordered the croſs-bow-men and muſketeers to attack the enemy in the broken ground, and, forming the cavalry into ſmall diviſions of three in front, directed them to charge as ſoon as the firing had made any impreſſion; thoſe who were armed with ſword and buckler he formed in a compact body as a reſerve. Advancing in this order, he ſhortly perceived the Mexicans in three large battalions or columns, and ſounding their war-like muſic. As ſoon as Sandoval perceived their diſpoſition, he thought proper to give up his original plan, and to break the enemy by a charge of cavalry. Putting himſelf therefore at the head of this body of troops, he attacked them, crying out, "St. Jago for us! comrades, fall on!" The main body of the Mexicans was partly broken by the charge, but they immediately cloſed and fronted again. The ground was much in their favour, ſo that Sandoval ſaw it was abſolutely neceſſary to drive them from this poſt into the open ground in their rear. For this purpoſe he ordered the muſketeers and croſs-bow-men to engage them in the front, and the troops armed with ſword and target to turn their flanks, and he gave directions, that, at the proper time, the cavalry ſhould fall on the enemy by a ſignal. He alſo now ordered our allies to come forward to the attack. Our troops

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at laſt forced them to retreat; they fell back however no farther than to a ſecond ſtrong poſition, nor could Sandoval with his cavalry do any conſiderable execution among them. Here we loſt Gonzalo Dominguez, whoſe horſe fell with him, whereby he died in a few days. He was much regretted, for we eſteemed him to be as brave a ſoldier as De Oli or Sandoval. Our army, having broken the enemy again, purſued them to the town, where they were ſuddenly attacked by at leaſt fifteen thouſand freſh warriors, who attempted to ſurround them; but our troops falling on both their flanks, the whole faced about and fled, endeavouring to rally behind ſome works which they had conſtructed. They were however ſo cloſely followed that they had not time to do ſo, and were driven completely withinſide the town. Sandoval then thought it neceſſary to give his ſoldiers ſome repoſe, and, as a conſiderable ſpoil of proviſions had fallen in the way of the troops, they began to prepare their dinners, during which time the patroles came galloping in, crying "To arms! the enemy are coming!" There was hardly a moment's interval until they were prepared, and, advancing againſt the enemy, they met them in an open ſpace, and had a ſevere ſkirmiſh, after which the enemy fell back behind their works; but Sandoval attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity that he drove them completely away, forcing them to evacuate the town.

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In this place was a very magnificent and extenſive garden, in which Sandoval took his quarters for the night, and certainly it was a beautiful one to behold; it contained a number of large and handſome buildings, and ſuch varieties that it was truly admirable, and fit for the reſidence of a great prince; nor had our ſoldiers time to ſee the whole of it, for it was above a quarter of a league in length. I was not in this action, being very ill by the wound of a lance, which I received in my throat at the affair of Iztapalapa, the marks of which I carry to this day; but I ſaw the garden about twenty days afterwards, when I accompanied Cortes. Not having been on this expedition, for the reaſon I have before aſſigned, as I was then almoſt at death's door, I do not in my narrative ſay we, and us, but they, and them; but, notwithſtanding that, all is true to the letter as I have related it; for the tranſactions of an expedition are immediately known in quarters, nor is there any opportunity of adding to, or diminiſhing, the truth, as is ſometimes the caſe elſewhere.

Sandoval thought it a good time to ſummon all the neighbouring diſtricts to ſubmiſſion, which he accordingly did, but with very little effect, thoſe of Acapiſtlan, eſpecially, anſwering by a defiance. This made our allies of Chalco uneaſy, as well knowing that they and the Mexicans were only waiting until the return of the Spaniards, in order to fall upon them. For ſeveral reaſons it was neceſſary therefore to hum-

ble theſe people, but a great difference of opinion exiſted on the ſubject. Sandoval was adverſe to any new expedition, on account of the number of his wounded, and the ſoldiers of Narvaez were adverſe, becauſe they diſliked riſques of any kind; but our allies were for it, and captain Luis Marin, a wiſe and valiant officer, ſtrongly ſupported them. As the diſtance was but two leagues, Sandoval acquieſced. When he advanced, the enemy attacked him with their miſſile weapons, and, after wounding ſome of his men, returned to their ſtrong poſt in the town. Our allies did not exhibit much alacrity in going to the attack, in which the Spaniards were obliged to ſhew them the way, and, diſmounting ſome of the cavalry, and leaving the reſt in the plain to guard the rear, they advanced againſt the place, which they entered, having a number wounded in the aſcent, and amongſt others Sandoval himſelf. But if the Indians were tardy before, they made up for it now; the Spaniards not having the trouble of putting the enemy to death, it being entirely ſaved them by their allies. Indeed our countrymen thought their time employed to much better purpoſe in ſearching for gold, or making good female priſoners, than in cutting to pieces a parcel of poor wretches who did not any longer defend themſelves. They frequently blamed the cruelty of their allies, and ſaved many Indians from them. Gomara ſays that the Spaniards ſuffered thirſt here, becauſe the water was not to be drank, on account of the quantity of blood with which it was diſcoloured; the

the fact is, that many of the wounded Mexicans did come from the rocks and ridges down to the water in making their eſcape, and it was diſcoloured the length of time that it would take to ſay an Ave Maria, but as to our people ſuffering thirſt on that account, that muſt be untrue, for there were ſeveral fountains of the fineſt water in the town.

After this ſucceſs Sandoval returned to Tezcuco, with a number of ſlaves and conſiderable ſpoil. Guatimotzin, the reigning prince of Mexico, was enraged when he heard of the hoſtilities committed againſt him by his own people of Chalco, and determined to inflict immediate puniſhment. He now ſent acroſs the lake twenty thouſand of his warriors, in two thouſand canoes, to waſte the province with fire and ſword, ſo that at the very moment when the brave Sandoval had arrived at head quarters, and before he could make the report of his expedition to the general, there arrived expreſſes from Chalco, ſtating their being in a more deſperate ſituation than ever. This put Cortes in a violent paſſion with Sandoval, thinking that he had been the cauſe of this misfortune; and thus, without hearing him out, when he came to wait upon him, he commanded his inſtant return. This gave Sandoval pain, thinking that he was unworthily treated by Cortes. However, he was obliged to return to Chalco. On his arrival he found the buſineſs entirely over, for the people of that province had ſummoned their allies, and repulſed the Mexicans

Mexicans, ſo that our countrymen returned with the priſoners to head quarters. Cortes was delighted when he heard the event, but Sandoval would not ſpeak to him. The general made every apology, and proteſted that the whole was owing to a miſtake; however, it is unneceſſary to ſay any more upon the ſubject, as they ſhortly after became as good friends as ever.

At this time, according to a general proclamation, the Indian ſlaves were brought together in order to be marked. The reader is already acquainted with the tranſactions at Tepeaca. It was if poſſible worſe now at Tezcuco. Firſt there was a fifth for his Majeſty, then another fifth for Cortes, and then the ſhares of the captains. What was worſt, moſt of the good female ſlaves had diſappeared during the night! it had been promiſed that they ſhould be rated, and the proprietor charged according to the value; but the royal officers or commiſſaries valued them as they thought proper, ſo that the poor ſoldier fell from bad to worſe. The conſequence of this was, that in future, to avoid loſing them thus, the ſoldiers concealed their ſlaves, or paſſed them as ſervants, and not priſoners of war, and thoſe who were in favour with Cortes brought them to be marked privately, and paid the value to him. Thoſe ſlaves who fell to the lot of ſuch maſters as treated them ill, or had the name of doing ſo, immediately deſerted and were no more to be found; but the owners always remained debtors for

for ſo much upon their value in his Majeſty's books, ſo that many were in debt more than their ſhare of priſage of gold could pay off.

At this time arrived a ſhip, with arms and gunpowder, from Old Caſtille, in which came Julian de Alderete treaſurer for the crown; he was from Tordeſillas, as was alſo Orduna the elder, who, after the conqueſt, brought over five daughters, whom he married very honourably. A brother of the order of St. Francis alſo came; he was named Fra Pedro Malgarejo de Urrea. He brought with him a number of bulls of our lord St. Peter, in order to compoſe our conſciences if we had any thing to lay to our charge on account of the wars. The reverend father made a fortune in a few months, and returned to Caſtille. Anthonio Carajaval, who now lives in Mexico, though very old; Geronymo Ruiz de la Mora; one Briones, who was about four years afterwards hanged in Guatimala for ſedition; Alonzo Diaz de la Reguera, now living in Valladolid; and many others, came by this veſſel. We now learned that the biſhop of Burgos had no longer any power, his Majeſty having been diſpleaſed with his conduct ever ſince he knew of our eminent ſervices. Another meſſage arrived at this moment from Chalco, for aſſiſtance againſt the Mexicans; upon which Cortes gave his promiſe that he would immediately march thither, although the brigantines were now ready to launch,

launch, and the ſoldiers were anxious to begin the ſiege of Mexico.

Cortes, leaving the town of Tezcuco to the care of Sandoval, ſet out, after maſs, upon his expedition, to clear the diſtrict of Chalco, and reconnoitre the country adjacent to the lake, on Friday, the fifth of April, one thouſand five hundred and twenty one, at the head of three hundred infantry, twenty croſs-bowmen and fifteen muſketeers included, and thirty cavalry, with a large body of the auxiliaries of Tezcuco and Tlaſcala. The general was accompanied by the treaſurer Alderete, Fray Pedro Melgarejo, the captains Alvarado, De Oli, and Tapia, and in this expedition I alſo went. The firſt night we halted at Talmanalco, and on the next day reached Chalco, whither Cortes ſummoned all the chiefs, and informed them of his intention immediately to attack Mexico, requiring their aſſiſtance, which they moſt readily promiſed. On the next day Cortes, continuing his march, arrived at the town of Chimalacoan, in the ſame province, where above twenty thouſand warriors had aſſembled to meet us. From the time of my firſt arrival in this country, I never had ſeen ſo many of our allies in one body. They were thoſe of Chalco, Guaxocingo, Tlaſcala, Tezcuco, and other places, and they certainly were attracted by the hope of ſpoil, and a voracious appetite for human fleſh, juſt as the ſcald crows and other birds of prey follow our

our armies in Italy, in order to feed on the dead bodies after a battle.

We here received intelligence that the Mexican forces, and their allies of that neighbourhood, were ready and in the field. Cortes therefore warned us to be alert, and early the next morning after maſs, as we proceeded on our march, our route being between two ridges of rocks, the ſummits of which were fortified and garriſoned, the enemy endeavoured by outcries and reproaches to draw us to an attack; but we purſued our march, by a large town named Guaztepeque, which we found abandoned, and, paſſing through, we arrived at a plain where were ſome very ſcanty fountains of water, and hard by was a great rock with a fortreſs on the ſummit. We obſerved it to be filled with troops, who ſaluted us on our approach with ſhouts, ſhowers of ſtones and arrows, by the firſt diſcharge of which they wounded three of our ſoldiers. Cortes then ordered us to halt, and, obſerving that the Mexicans ſeemed to deſpiſe us for not attacking them, he ſent a party of cavalry to examine the rock. On their return they told the general that no part ſeemed to them ſo acceſſible as that where we then were. Cortes then ordered us to aſcend, enſign Chriſtoval del Corral with the colours leading us, and Cortes with the cavalry remaining in the plain to protect the rear.

When

When we began to aſcend the mountain, the Indians threw down large maſſes of rock, and it was dreadful to ſee them roll among us, and a wonder how any of us eſcaped, as they bounded over us. The order was a very inconſiderate one, and very unlike a wiſe captain. One ſoldier, though he wore a helmet, was killed at my foot; he never uttered a word; his name was Martin Valenciano. As we continued to aſcend, the ſtones ſtill came rolling down upon us, and two more ſoldiers, one named Gaſpar Sanches, nephew to the treaſurer of Cuba, and the other named Bravo, were the next who loſt their lives, and, immediately after, Alonzo Rodriguez was killed, and two more knocked down. Moſt of the reſt received wounds, but ſtill we aſcended. I was at that time an active young man, and followed cloſe to our enſign, taking advantage of the concavities that we found from time to time in the rock. Corral was wounded in the head, his face covered with blood, and the colours tattered to pieces. "Oh, ſignor Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo," ſaid he to me, "here is no advancing; remain under cover, for it is as much as I can do to keep my hold, and preſerve myſelf from falling." Looking downward, I at this time perceived Pedro Barba, captain of the croſs-bow-men, with two ſoldiers, climbing up as we had done under the cover of the projections in the face of the rock. I called to him not to advance, for that it was impoſſible to climb much farther. He replied, in lofty terms, that I ſhould deſiſt from talking, and proceed on. I was a little piqued

piqued at this, and, exerting my utmoſt activity, mounted to a conſiderable diſtance higher, telling *him* I ſhould ſee how he would do. At this moment a ſhower of large rocks came down, and cruſhed one of the ſoldiers who were with Barba to death; after having ſeen which he did not ſtir a ſtep. Corral called out to thoſe below, deſiring them to report to the general the impoſſibility of proceeding, and that even the deſcent was full of danger. When Cortes was informed of this, (for he could not ſee us on account of the inequalities of the rocks) and underſtood that moſt of us were wounded and many killed, a circumſtance which he could the readier believe from having had three of the cavalry killed on the plain by the rolling down of the maſſes of rocks, ſeven alſo being wounded in the ſame manner, he gave ſignals for us to deſcend, which we accordingly did, in a very bloody and bruiſed condition, leaving eight of our party dead.

Bodies of the Mexicans were watching us during this time, concealed in different places, in order to fall upon us when we were engaged in the attack, for it was a concerted plan. They now ſhewed themſelves, and advanced againſt us; we attacked them in the plain, and drove them to ſome other ridges of rocks, and, advancing through narrow paſſes like roads between them, we found another very ſtrong fortreſs ſimilar to that we had juſt been repulſed from. We now deſiſted for the preſent, and return-

ed to our former poſition, in order to procure water, the men and horſes not having drank during the whole day. We found ſome ſprings at the foot of the rock, but the numbers of the enemy had drained them, and left nothing but mud. We then proceeded to the other fortreſs which we had obſerved: there was a diſtance of about a league and a half between the two. Here, in a grove of mulberry trees, we found a fountain, but very ſcanty of water, and under theſe trees we halted for ſome time. At the foot of the rock wherein the fort was, ſtood a ſmall village. The people above began at our approach to ſhoot at us, and appeared in much more conſiderable numbers than in the former place, and their ſituation was ſuch that no ſhot from us could take effect upon them. For ſome diſtance from the level ground there was an appearance of paths up the rock, but it altogether preſented extreme difficulties.

On the enſuing day we attacked, our principal body climbing the rock very ſlowly and with great fatigue, nor could we have ever aſcended to the works, for they were wounding and deſtroying us by rolling down maſſes of rock on our heads, but that fortunately for us there was within ſhot of the poſt another rock which commanded it, and to this all our fire arms and croſs-bow-men were detached; and although they were rather too far off to have much effect, yet, having killed ſeveral of the enemy over their ramparts, it threw them off their defence,

and

and they offered to ſubmit. Cortes called for five of their chiefs to deſcend, and, reprehending them for having been the aggreſſors, he told them that he would pardon them on condition that they induced thoſe who were in the other fortreſs to give themſelves up, which they undertook to do. Cortes then ordered the two captains, Juan Xaramillo and Pedro de Ircio, and the enſign, Corral, to aſcend to the fort which had been ſurrendered, bidding me accompany them, and he at the ſame time warned us not to touch a ſingle grain of maize. This expreſſion I conſidered as implying that we ſhould do ourſelves what good we had in our power. We found it to conſiſt of an extenſive plain on the ſummit of a perpendicular rock; the entrance was by an aperture not much larger than twice the ſize of the mouth of an oven. It was completely filled with men, women and children, but they had not a ſingle drop of water, and about twenty of their warriors were killed, and many wounded. Their property was all packed up in bales, and here was alſo a conſiderable tribute, collected in order to be ſent to Mexico. I had brought four of my Indian ſervants with me, and began to load them, and alſo four of the natives; upon which captain De Ircio came and told me to lay down the packs immediately, or he would report me to the general, aſking if I had not heard his orders not to touch a grain of maize. I replied that I had heard the orders that the maize ſhould not be taken, and that was the reaſon why I took the packages; but he would

would not ſuffer any of it to go, and on our return reported me to Cortes, expecting that I ſhould receive blame; but Cortes was not ſo diſpoſed, ſaying, on the contrary, that he was ſorry I had not got the ſpoil, and that the dogs ſhould keep their property, and laugh at us, after all the miſchief which they had done. De Ircio on this wiſhed to return thither; but Cortes told him that the time did not then admit of it. By this, the chiefs had arrived from the firſt fortreſs, the garriſon of which agreed to ſubmit, and we returned, being compelled by want of water, to the town of Guaztepeque, where was the noble garden I have before mentioned. In this garden our whole force lodged for the night; I certainly never had ſeen one of ſuch magnificence, and Cortes and the treaſurer Alderete, after they had walked through and examined it, declared that it was admirable, and equal to any that they had ever ſeen in Caſtille.

On the enſuing day we marched for Cuernabaca. The Mexicans who were in that town came out and attacked us, but we defeated and drove them to a town named Tepuztlan, which we took by ſurpriſe, making a great booty of Indian women, and other ſpoils. Cortes ſummoned the chiefs three or four times to ſubmit, and on their refuſal to come in, and in order to ſtrike terror into others, ſet fire to about one half of the houſes. At this time the chiefs of a diſtrict named Yauhtepeque came to wait on Cortes and make their ſubmiſſion. On the next day we arrived

arrived at the large town of Cuernabaca, or Coadlavaca, in a very ſtrong ſituation, on account of a deep ravine cauſed by a rivulet which runs at the depth of at leaſt forty feet, although there is not much water, and which precluded all acceſs to the town except by two bridges, which the inhabitants had broken upon our approach. Cortes, however, being informed that about half a league higher up was a paſſage practicable for the cavalry, went thither with them, and we all ſearched for paſſes, and at length diſcovered a very dangerous one, over ſome trees which hung acroſs from the two oppoſite ſides of the ravine. About thirty of us, and many Tlaſcalans, made our way over, by the help of thoſe trees, with great difficulty; three fell into the water, and one broke his leg. It was indeed a truly frightful attempt; I for a time entirely loſt my ſight, from the depth and danger. We who got over, falling on the flank and rear of the enemy unexpectedly, and being juſt then joined by part of our cavalry who had croſſed a bridge which was not entirely deſtroyed, now drove the enemy from this poſt to the neighbouring woods and rocks. In the town we found conſiderable property, and here we were again lodged in a large garden, belonging to the lord of the diſtrict. A deputation of twenty of the principal Indians waited on Cortes, apologizing for the hoſtilities committed, the blame of which they threw on the Mexicans, offering to ſubmit themſelves, and obſerving,

ing, as I recollect, that their gods had been permitted by ours to puniſh them.

Suchimileco, the object of our march, is a large city on the freſh water lake, in which moſt of the houſes are built. As it was late when we ſet out from Coadlavaca, and the weather exceſſively ſultry, our troops ſuffered dreadfully from the want of water, not a drop whereof was to be met with on our route. Our allies fainted on the road in numbers; one of them died, and alſo one of our ſoldiers. Cortes, ſeeing the diſtreſſes of the army, halted under ſome pine trees, and ſent a party forward to ſeek for relief. When I ſaw them about to ſet off, my friend Chriſtoval de Oli being one of them, I brought three of my Indian ſervants with me, and followed the party, which they obſerving, halted in order to make me return; but I was reſolved, and De Oli at laſt aſſented, telling me I muſt expect to fight my way. About half a league in front were ſome villages on the ſide of a ridge. The cavalry went thither and found water in the houſes, and one of my ſervants brought me from thence a large jar, which they uſe in that country, full of water. I then determined to return, for the inhabitants of the village had begun to take the alarm. I found Cortes juſt ſetting forward on his march, and gave him and the captains a hearty draught each out of the jar, which my ſervants carried very well concealed, for thirſt conſiders itſelf before any one. We arrived at the villages, and found

found water, though not much: the ſun was then near ſetting, and our cavalry came in and reported that the whole country was in movement againſt us; we therefore halted here. I was on the night guard, and recollect that it was very windy and rainy. Several of our ſoldiers were taken ill with inflammations in the mouth and throat, from eating a ſpecies of thiſtle or artichoke to quench their thirſt.

Early the next morning we purſued our route, and about eight o'clock arrived at Suchimileco. I can give no idea of the number of the enemy's troops which were gathered here, they were in ſuch vaſt bodies. They had broken down the bridge which was in front, and fortified themſelves with parapets and paliſades; their leaders were armed with ſwords which they had taken from us in the fatal night of Mexico, and which they had poliſhed and made very bright. The attack laſted for half an hour at the bridge. Some of our people paſſed the water by ſwimming, and ſome loſt their lives in it. What was worſt, ſeveral bodies fell on our flanks and rear. When our cavalry had got on firm ground, with the loſs of two more of our ſoldiers killed, we drove them before us, but a reinforcement of at leaſt ten thouſand Mexicans juſt then arrived, and received the charge of our cavalry, four of whom they wounded. Here the good cheſnut horſe which our Cortes rode tired under him amongſt a crowd of the enemy, who pulled or knocked the general down, with the intention

tion of taking him alive; more crowds now gathered about him, and were hurrying him off; but a body of our Tlaſcalan allies, headed by the brave Chriſtoval de Oli, came to his reſcue, and remounted him, though he was ſeverely wounded in the head. Oli alſo received three deſperate wounds from the ſwords of the enemy.

As all the ſtreets of the town were full of Mexican troops, we were obliged to divide into bodies and fight ſeparately; but thoſe who were neareſt, knowing by the outcry and noiſe that it was very ſerious in that part where Cortes commanded, hurried thither, and found him with about fifteen of the cavalry in a very embarraſſed ſituation, among the canals and parapets. We then forced the enemy to give ground, and brought off our Cortes and Oli. On firſt paſſing the bridge, Cortes had ordered the cavalry, in two diviſions, to clear our flanks. At this time they returned to us, every one of them wounded, and reported that the numbers were ſuch that their efforts were unavailing.

We were in an encloſed court, dreſſing our wounds with burnt oil, and tearing cloth to bind them, when the cavalry came in; and in a ſhort time after, ſuch a volley of arrows came among us that very few eſcaped unhurt. We now, together with the cavalry, ſallied out among the enemy, and uſed our ſwords to ſuch effect that they left a conſiderable number behind them

them on the ground; our loſs being, one man and two horſes killed. Having now a little breathing time (for the enemy deſiſted from their attempt to ſtorm our poſt) Cortes brought his troops to the large enclоſures where were the temples of the Indians, and ſome of our party, going to the top, which commanded Mexico and the whole lake, perceived above two thouſand canoes coming from the city againſt us full of troops. A body of ten thouſand men alſo marched on the land ſide, to attack us on that night, and another body of ten thouſand was in readineſs as a relief. All this we learned from five of the chiefs whom we made priſoners. We poſted ſtrong guards at thoſe places where the enemy were to diſembark, the cavalry were in readineſs to act upon the roads and firm ground, and conſtant patroles were kept going during the night. I and ten more ſoldiers were poſted as a guard upon a wall of lime and ſtone, which commanded one of the landing places. While we were on the watch, we heard a noiſe which we knew to be occaſioned by the approach of a party of the enemy. We were prepared, and beat them off, ſending one of our ſoldiers to make a report to Cortes. The enemy returned in a very ſhort time, and attacked us again, knocked down two of our party, and then drew off to attempt a landing at another place, which was a ſmall gate upon a deep canal. The night was very dark, and as theſe people are not accuſtomed to fight during that ſeaſon, it appeared that their two armies fell into con-

fuſion, and, contrary to the orders they received, formed in one body, making at leaſt fifteen thouſand men.

I muſt now ſpeak of myſelf, not meaning it however in the way of boaſt. When our report reached Cortes, he came to us with ten of the cavalry, and, as he approached without ſpeaking, I challenged, "Who goes there?" and getting no anſwer, I and my comrade, one Gonzalo Sanchez, a Portugueſe of Algarve, ſent three or four ſhots at them. Cortes, knowing our voices, obſerved to thoſe with him, that this poſt required no viſiting, for we were two of his veterans. He then remarked to us that our ſtation was a dangerous one, and, turning about without ſaying any more, he continued his rounds. I afterwards heard that one of Narvaez's ſoldiers was whipped for negligence on this night.

Our powder being all exhauſted, Cortes ordered us to prepare a good ſtore of arrows, which we were employed during the night in heading and feathering, under the directions of Pedro Barba, the captain of the croſs-bow-men. At day break the enemy attacked us, but without much ſucceſs; for we killed ſeveral of their leaders, and took many of them priſoners, with the loſs of but one Spaniard killed. Our cavalry, who had advanced, fell in with the Mexicans, and, not being ſtrong enough to attack them, ſent back for aſſiſtance; on which the whole of our force

ſallied

sallied out. We charged and defeated the enemy, and made several prisoners, who informed us of the plan of the Mexicans to wear us out by incessant attacks. We therefore determined to quit that place on the ensuing day. In the interim, our troops and allies having intelligence of the wealth which was in the town, got some of the prisoners to point out to them the houses that contained it, the approach to which was by a causeway with small bridges over the canals, for they stood on the fresh water lake. From these they returned loaded with cotton cloths and other valuables, and this example induced others to follow it. Unfortunately, while thus employed, a body of Mexicans in canoes came upon them, and, wounding many, seized four soldiers of the company of captain De Monjaraz alive, and, hurrying them into their vessels, carried them to Mexico in triumph. From these men Guatimotzin the king of Mexico was informed of the smallness of our numbers, and our great loss in killed and wounded. After having questioned them as much as he thought proper, he commanded their hands and feet to be cut off, and in this lamentable condition sent them through many districts of the neighbourhood, as a sample of what he expected to do by us all; and, after having thus exhibited them through the country, they were put to death. The ensuing morning afforded opportunity for fresh attacks upon us, as had been regularly the case for the four days during which we staid in Suchimelco.

Previous to our march, Cortes drew his troops to an open place a little out of the town, where the market was held. Here he formed us, and then made a ſpeech, wherein he dwelt upon the dangers we had to go through in our retreat, and the great bodies of the enemy that waited us on the road; for which reaſon he ſtrongly inſiſted on the neceſſity of leaving all the luggage behind; but we replied, that we were men able to defend our properties, our perſons, and his alſo; and that it would be very paltry in us to abandon what we had acquired. When he ſaw our determination, he put us in order for the march, the baggage in the centre, and the cavalry forming the advanced and rear guard; and it was protected alſo by our croſs-bow-men, for as to our muſketry, it was uſeleſs from want of powder. The enemy attacked us upon our retreat, purſuing us as far as Cuyoacan. There were in this neighbourhood cluſters of towns, each of conſiderable magnitude, built in the water, at the diſtance of two leagues from Mexico, and about a league and an half from each other. They amounted to above ten in number. It was the inhabitants of all thoſe who had joined together at this time to attack us; their names were Suchimelco, Cuyoacan, Chohuilobuſco, Iztapalapa, Coadlavaca, Meſquique, and others. We halted for two days at Cuyoacan, which we found abandoned, attending the wounded, and making arrows for our croſs-bows. On the third morning we ſet out upon our

our march for Tacuba, and were attacked as uſual, but our cavalry drove the enemy to their ditches and canals.

Cortes at this time determined to lay an ambuſcade, and accordingly ſet out with ten of the cavalry and four ſervants. He ſoon fell in with a party of Mexicans, who fled before him, and, imprudently preſſing them too far, a large body of their warriors ſtarted out upon him, and in their firſt attack wounded all the horſes, and, getting two of the attendants of Cortes in their hands, carried them to Mexico to be ſacrificed, the reſt having a moſt narrow eſcape. Our main body reached the head quarters at Tacuba with the baggage in ſafety, and, not hearing any thing of Cortes or his party of cavalry, we ſuſpected ſome misfortune. Alvarado, De Oli, Tapia, I, and ſome more, therefore went in ſearch of him, towards that part whither we ſaw them go, and we ſoon met two of his ſervants, who informed us of what had happened. In a ſhort time Cortes came up to us; he was very ſad, and weeping.

When we arrived at our quarters at Tacuba it rained heavily, and we remained under it for two hours in ſome large encloſed courts. The general, with his captains, the treaſurer, our reverend father, and many others of us, mounted to the top of the temple, which commanded all the lake, and afforded a moſt ſurpriſing and pleaſing ſpectacle, from the multitude

titude of cities riſing as it were out of the water, and the innumerable quantity of boats employed in fiſhing, or rapidly paſſing to and fro. All of us agreed in giving glory to God, for making us the inſtruments of rendering ſuch ſervices: the reverend father alſo conſoled Cortes, who was very ſad on account of his late loſs. When we contemplated the ſcenes of what had happened to us in Mexico, and which we could well trace from where we ſtood, it made Cortes much more ſad than before. It was on this that the romance was written which begins,

" In Tacuba was Cortes, with many a gallant chief,
" He thought upon his loſſes, and bow'd his head with grief."

One of our ſoldiers, the bachelor Alonzo Perez, who was afterwards fiſcal near Mexico, in order to conſole him, obſerved, that thoſe things were the common fortune of war, and that they could not at preſent compare him to Nero viewing Rome on fire. Cortes anſwered that he was only ſad from the reflection of the dangers and fatigues that we ſhould have to go through, but that he would ſhortly put his hand to the buſineſs. Our captains and ſoldiers now conſulted whether it would not be eligible to take a view of the cauſeway; but it was thought not prudent, and we continued our march by Eſcapuzalco, which was abandoned, to Tenayuca, where, in the great temple, they worſhipped three ſerpents. From this place, which was alſo abandoned, we proceeded to Guatitlan,

lan, and during the whole day's march it never ceaſed raining; whereby, together with the weight of our arms, we came in dreadfully fatigued.

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The enemy gave us ſome alarms in the night, during which it rained heavily, no watch being kept by us on account of the ſeverity of the weather, as I can teſtify, my poſt not having been viſited either by rounds or corporal. Marching through four or five towns which were abandoned, by a road deep in mud, we arrived in two days more at Aculman in the diſtrict of Tezcuco, where we found that a reinforcement to our army had newly arrived from Caſtille. On the next day we proceeded to Tezcuco, and arrived fatigued, worn out, and diminiſhed in numbers.

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A conſpiracy againſt the life of Cortes was at this time formed, by an adherent of the governor of Cuba, one Anthonio de Villafana, native of Zamora or of Toro, and ſome of the other ſoldiers of Narvaez, whoſe names I will not mention. The aſſaſſination was to have been executed in the following manner: A veſſel having lately arrived from Caſtille, a letter was to be brought to the general, as from his father, and as if it had come by that opportunity; which letter was to be delivered as he ſat at table with his officers and ſoldiers, and when he had opened, and was in the act of reading it, the conſpirators were to fall on and aſſaſſinate him with their poinards, together with all of us who were in his company.

When

When every thing was arranged, the conſpirators communicated their intentions to two principal perſons, whom I will not name, but who had been on the expedition with us, one of whom on the death of Cortes they meant to have appointed captain general. The offices of alguazil major, enſign, alcaldes, regidor, contador, treaſurer, veeder, and others of this kind, were to have been filled up from among the ſoldiers of Narvaez, and they had divided amongſt them our properties and horſes. The buſineſs was diſcovered two days after our arrival at Tezcuco, by God's mercy, who did not chooſe that New Spain ſhould have been ſo loſt; for, if we had been put to death, all would have fallen into confuſion and faction.

It ſeems, a faithful ſoldier made the diſcovery to Cortes, who immediately took proper ſteps to prevent the miſchief from ſpreading; for he underſtood it to be conducted by perſons of quality. As ſoon as it was made clear to him, he gave large rewards for the information. He then communicated it to all our captains, namely, Alvarado, De Lugo, De Oli, Sandoval, and Tapia, alſo to me, and to the two alcaldes of that year, Luis Marin, and Pedro de Ircio; in ſhort, to all of his party. As ſoon as we knew of it we prepared ourſelves, and attended Cortes to the quarters of Villafana, where we found him and many others of the conſpirators. The four alguazils ſeized Villafana; the others attempted to eſcape by flight, but Cortes ordered them to be detained, and ſome of

of them he committed to priſon. Cortes then took from the boſom of Villafana a paper, with the ſignatures of thoſe who were concerned with him, in conſideration for whom, however, he cauſed the report to be circulated that it had been ſwallowed by Villafana, without his having ſeen it. He was immediately put upon his trial, but voluntarily made a confeſſion, according to which, and to the teſtimony of many witneſſes, he was condemned by his judges, the two alcaldes, conjointly with Cortes, and De Oli, who ſat by virtue of his office. Shortly after his condemnation, having confeſſed himſelf to the reverend father Juan Diaz, he was hanged from a window of the apartment.

Of the ſeveral others who were arreſted, no more were proceeded againſt; enough having been done for example and intimidation. Cortes, however, to prevent ſuch attempts in future, thought it prudent to appoint a guard for his perſon, compoſed of valiant and faithful ſoldiers. They were ſelected from thoſe who had been with him from the firſt, and were commanded by a gentleman named Anthonio de Quinones. Henceforward, although he ſhewed great attention to thoſe who had been in the conſpiracy, and treated them in the beſt manner, he took care to be on his guard with them.

At this time came out an order for all the priſoners to be brought to an appointed place, in order to be

marked. Not to take up time with repetitions of the ſtory, I will ſum up all in one obſervation, which is, that if what was ill done the firſt time, was worſe done the ſecond, this third was worſt of all; for after the royal fifth had been drawn out, Cortes took his own, and then came no leſs than thirty ſucceſſive drafts for the captains. Beſides, thoſe handſome and good female priſoners which we put in to be marked were ſtolen out of the crowd, and were kept concealed until it was no longer inconvenient to produce them.

The brigantines were now finiſhed, and the canal brought to a ſufficient width and depth to float them to the lake. Cortes therefore iſſued a circular notice to all the diſtricts of our alliance in the neighbourhood of Tezcuco, to ſend him each, within the ſpace of the next eight days, eight thouſand arrow heads, made of copper; alſo an equal number of ſhafts, of a particular wood. By the expiration of the given time the whole number was brought, executed to a degree of perfection which exceeded the pattern. Captain P. Barba, who commanded the croſs-bow-men, ordered each of his ſoldiers to provide themſelves with two cords and nuts, and to prove the range of their bows; for one of the laſt ſhips which came from Caſtille had brought out a ſupply of the materials to make cords, and alſo of powder. Cortes ordered the cavalry to have their lances well pointed, and to uſe their horſes to daily exerciſe; and he at this time ſent an expreſs to Xicotenga the elder, otherwiſe

otherwiſe Don Lorenzo de Vargas, for twenty thouſand of the warriors of his nation, and thoſe of Guaxocingo and Cholula; and he ſent ſimilar notices to Chalco and Talmalanco, ſummoning them to a general rendezvous, on the day after the feaſt of the Holy Ghoſt, at which time Don Hernando, our ally of Tezcuco, was alſo to join us with all his forces.

On the day after the feſtival of the Holy Ghoſt, Cortes inſpected his army in the large quadrangles of Tezcuco. They amounted to eighty-four cavalry, ſix hundred and fifty infantry with ſword and buckler, or lances, and one hundred and ninety-four muſketeers and croſs-bow-men. Out of this number he took for the ſervice of his fleet twelve of the muſketeers or croſs-bow-men, and twelve of the other infantry for rowers, under the command of a captain, to each veſſel; he alſo diſtributed twenty cannoniers through the whole fleet, which he armed with what guns fit for this ſervice we had in our ſtores.

Having thus diſtributed his force, Cortes gave the following orders: Firſt, no perſon to utter any blaſphemy againſt our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Holy Virgin his mother, the Holy Apoſtles, nor any other of the ſaints, under heavy penalties. Second, no ſoldier to ill treat our allies in their perſons or properties. Third, no ſoldier to abſent himſelf from his quarters on any pretence. Fourth, every ſoldier to be fully provided with arms offenſive and defenſive. Fifth,

no

no ſoldier to ſtake his horſe or arms at gaming. Sixth, no ſoldier to ſleep out of armour, or without his weapons beſide him, except in caſe of wounds or ſickneſs. Laſtly, penalty of death for ſleeping on, or abſence from, a centinel's poſt, abſence from quarters without leave, quitting the ranks in the field, or flight in battle.

Although a number of our people had ſerved as ſailors before, there was a great averſeneſs on the preſent occaſion among them to act as rowers. The general was therefore obliged to make inquiry, and conſidering all thoſe who belonged to, or were natives of Palos, Moguer, Triano, El Puerto, or any other ſeaport, or who had been known to have been employed in fiſhing, as being of the profeſſion, he ordered them to the oars; and although many of theſe brought their gentility as an objection, he would not hear of it, but enforced his orders; by which he obtained one hundred and fifty, who were, as it will appear in the ſequel, better ſituated than any of us who had to bear the weight and dangers of the field. The crews being embarked, each brigantine hoiſted a royal ſtandard, and alſo its peculiar one. The general then appointed the captains as follows: Garci Holguin; Pedro Barba; Juan de Limpias Carvajal the deaf; Juan Xaremillo; Geronymo Ruiz de la Mora; Carvajal, his companion, who is now very old, and lives in the ſtreet of St. Francis; one Portillo, a good ſoldier with a handſome wife; Zamora, maſter of a

ſhip,

ſhip, now living in Guaxaca; Colmenero, a mariner and brave ſoldier; Lerma; Gines Nortes; Briones, native of Salamanca; another, whoſe name I have forgotten; and Miguel Diaz de Auz. To theſe he gave inſtructions how they were to act, and with what officers of the land forces they were to co-operate.

At this time arrived the army of our allies of Tlaſcala, under the command of the younger Xicotenga. He brought with him two brothers. In this army alſo came ſome of the warriors of Cholula and Guaxocinga, but not in any conſiderable number. The alacrity of the whole body appeared in their arrival a day previous to that appointed; they advanced in great parade, each chief having a ſtandard with their national device, a white ſpread eagle, embroidered upon it. They entered the town in high ſpirits, ſhouting "Caſtilla! Caſtilla! Thaſcala! Thaſcala! Live the Emperor!" and it was about three hours from the time of the arrival of their advanced party, until the rear had come in. Cortes, with many compliments, diſmiſſed them to their quarters, and promiſing to make them all rich on their return to their native country. We now heard that the Mexicans had put to death three of our ſoldiers who had been left by Pizarro to ſearch for mines, one only, named Barrientos, eſcaping to Chinanta, where he was protected.

Our

Our general made his diſpoſition for the attack upon the city of Mexico as follows:

Pedro de Alvarado with one hundred and fifty infantry, thirty cavalry, eighteen muſketeers and croſs-bow-men, and eight thouſand Tlaſcalans, was to take poſt at Tacuba, having to aſſiſt him Jorge de Alvarado his brother, Gutierre de Badajos, and Andres de Monjaras, each of whom was captain of a company, conſiſting of fifty infantry; and a third of the croſs-bow-men and muſketeers, the cavalry being commanded by Alvarado in perſon. To this detachment I was appointed.

Chriſtoval de Oli, having under him the captains Andres de Tapia, Franciſco Verdugo, Franciſco de Lugo, thirty cavalry, one hundred and ſeventy-five infantry, twenty muſketeers and croſs-bow-men, and eight thouſand Indians, was to take poſt at Cuyoacan, and Gonzalo de Sandoval, with captains Luis Marin and P. de Ircio, at the head of twenty-four cavalry, one hundred and fifty infantry, fourteen muſketeers and croſs-bow-men, and upwards of eight thouſand Indians, was to take his poſt at Iztapalapa. The two firſt-named diviſions were to march by the right, the third in the oppoſite direction. Sandoval's party had alſo orders not to march, until Cortes, who commanded the flotilla in perſon, ſhould launch out upon the lake.

I muſt now advert to another affair which happened at this time. The diviſions of the two captains in chief, Alvarado and De Oli, being prepared to ſet out, in order not to be encumbered with our Indian allies on the march, we ſent them off one day before us, with orders to halt and wait for our arrival when they came upon the Mexican territory. The Tlaſcalans purſuing their march, Chichimecatecle remarked the abſence of the younger Xicotenga, the commander in chief. On inquiring it was found that he had ſecretly gone away on the preceding night to Tlaſcala, there to ſeize and poſſeſs himſelf of the property and territory of Chichimecatecle, thinking this a good opportunity, in the abſence of that chief and of the other warriors of his nation, and fearing no oppoſition ſince the death of Maxicatzin. His diſinclination to the expedition had alſo been apparent from the firſt. Chichimecatecle, on diſcovering the deſign againſt him, immediately returned to Tezcuco to inform Cortes, who on hearing it diſpatched five of the chiefs of Tezcuco and two of Tlaſcala after Xicotenga, with a meſſage from him to requeſt his return. His anſwer was, that if Maxicatzin and his old father had believed him, they would not be now ridden by Cortes in the manner they were, and he abſolutely refuſed to return. This anſwer being ſent back to Cortes, he commanded an alguazil, attended by four of the cavalry and five chiefs of Tezcuco, to ſet out immediately, giving them orders, wherever they found Xicotenga, to ſeize and hang him without ceremony. Alvarado

varado interceded ſtrongly for him, but ultimately to no purpoſe, for, although Cortes appeared to liſten to him, the party which arreſted Xicotenga, in a town ſubject to Tezcuco, there hung him, under private orders of Cortes not to let him go from them alive, and, as ſome ſay, with the approbation of his father.

This affair detained us one day, and on the next the two detachments of Alvarado and De Oli marched by the ſame route, and halted for the night, in a place ſubject to Tezcuco, named Aculma. Here a diſagreeable affair had like to have taken place. It appeared that De Oli had ſent forward to take quarters, and had appropriated every houſe in the town to his own company, marking them by putting green branches on the terraces, ſo that when Alvarado's detachment arrived we had not a place to lodge in. Our ſoldiers immediately ſtood to their arms to fight thoſe of De Oli, and the two captains had already challenged each other, but ſeveral of the more moderate officers interfering, they were pacified for the preſent. An expreſs was immediately ſent to Cortes, who wrote to every one of any influence amongſt our detachments, condemning the ſteps which had been taken, and earneſtly recommending a reconciliation. After this Alvarado and De Oli never were friends.

We continued our march for two days more, by Mexican cities which were abandoned, the laſt of which

which was Guatitlan; and on the third, paſſing the towns of Tenayuca and Eſcapuzalco, where we found our allies * waiting for us, we proceeded to Tacuba.

The enemy gave notice by their noiſes that they were about us in great numbers, and our two detachments, it was ſettled, ſhould on the enſuing day go to cut the aqueduct of Chapultepeque. At the time appointed we ſet out with our allies, and though the enemy attacked us in our march, we ſucceeded, deſtroying the pipes, ſo that from that day no more freſh water came to Mexico. It was now determined to try our fortune againſt the city, and ſee if we could not at leaſt get poſſeſſion of a bridge upon the cauſeway of Tacuba. When we arrived there, the immenſe number of boats, and of their troops on the land, was a ſubject of aſtoniſhment. By the firſt volley of their arrows they killed three and wounded thirty of our ſoldiers; nevertheleſs we advanced to the bridge, the enemy, as it were by ſtratagem, receding, and now we were upon a cauſeway twenty feet wide, expoſed as a butt to the arrows of thoſe on the water on both our flanks. Our muſketry and croſs-bows had no effect whatever on their canoes, they were ſo well protected; as to the cavalry, their horſes were all wounded, and if they purſued the enemy a little diſtance on the cauſeway, they were ſtopped by the parapets which they had built acroſs it, and which they defended with long lances; and when

* The whole number of whom amounted to ſeventy thouſand.

our infantry advanced againſt them in front, the enemy threw themſelves into the water. Thus we were fighting them for upwards of an hour, their numbers increaſing from every part of the lake, and our allies only encumbering the cauſeway. Being utterly unable to reſiſt the enemy who were on the water, we determined to retire, which we did, leaving eight dead, and having above fifty wounded, the enemy purſuing us cloſely.

On the enſuing day, captain De Oli proceeded with his detachment for Cuyoacan; he talked in terms of diſapprobation of the preceding expedition, laying the blame on the raſhneſs of Alvarado. We all were ſolicitous that the two captains ſhould remain together, and certainly their ſeparation was very imprudent, for, had the enemy known the ſmallneſs of our number, they would have fallen on and deſtroyed either detachment, during the four or five days that we were ſeparated, and before the arrival of Cortes with the flotilla. In theſe two poſitions our detachments remained for the above period, without venturing to pay another viſit to the Mexican cauſeways. During this time the enemy frequently ſent bodies of their troops to the main land, and annoyed us with attacks in our quarters.

Sandoval with his detachment left Tezcuco on the fourth day after the feaſt of Corpus Chriſti, and, marching through a friendly country, arrived in front

front of the town of Iztapalapa. On his arrival he immediately attacked the enemy in that place, and burned many of the houſes which were built on the firm ground; but freſh bodies of Mexicans came both by land and water to their relief, and while thus occupied, our troops obſerved a ſmoke to riſe from the top of a hill above the town, which was anſwered in the ſame manner at other points round the lake, and this we found to be a ſignal for the information of the enemy, that our flotilla was launched; a circumſtance which occaſioned them to relax in their hoſtilities againſt Sandoval. He now remained unmoleſted in his inſulated ſituation, in a part of the town of Iztapalapa, between which and Cuyoacan there were no means of communication but by a cauſeway which croſſes the lake, and the paſſage of which was impracticable in the face of the enemy.

Cortes, when he brought his flotilla upon the lake, firſt went to attack a rock which forms a ſmall iſland juſt by Mexico, and on which many of the natives, as well of that neighbourhood as of other parts, had taken refuge. As ſoon as the enemy diſcovered his intention, their whole force from every part of the lake proceeded againſt him. When our general perceived the immenſe number of large boats full of fighting men, for it exceeded four thouſand, he drew his flotilla into an open part of the lake, and ordered his captains to wait patiently for a breeze of wind which was juſt then beginning to ſpring up. The enemy,

enemy, thinking this was owing to fear, began to close round him with great triumph, and just at this moment the wind rising in his favour, the whole fleet set sail, plying their oars at the same time; bearing down upon the Mexican canoes in this manner, they sunk a number of them, and compelled the rest to take shelter in the recesses on the sides of the lake.

After this Cortés sailed for Cuyoacan. Here he had another attack by the Mexicans, who assailed his vessels from the temples on the land, as well as with their canoes; but he brought four guns to bear upon them, and did considerable execution; although, by some mismanagement of the gunners, his powder magazine blew up, wounding many of his people. This misfortune obliged him to detach his lightest vessel to Sandoval for a supply. At Cuyoacan he remained with the flotilla for two days, and here I will leave him, to relate what passed in the detachment of Alvarado. When we perceived that the flotilla was upon the lake, we marched out upon the causeway as far as the bridge, where we passed our time in a repetition of engagements with the enemy, but to little effect, farther than repairing the passes in our rear as we advanced; nor did we now suffer the cavalry to come to the causeway.

Sandoval had found that in his present position he could not sufficiently annoy the enemy, who were established in the houses built in the water; he therefore

fore advanced by a cauſeway to a place which commanded them better. This being perceived from Mexico, a large detachment was ſent in canoes, with directions to cut the cauſeway behind our troops. Cortes, obſerving this, ſet ſail with his veſſels for their relief, ordering De Oli to go thither with a body of troops by the cauſeway. Having relieved Sandoval, the general ordered this detachment to a place named Tepeaquilla, where is now built the church of Nueſtra Senora de Guadelupe, in which many wonderful miracles have been, and are, performed.

As it was impoſſible for our troops to advance upon the cauſeways without their flanks being ſecured on the water, the flotilla was formed into three diviſions, and one of them attached to each of the three corps of our army; that is to ſay, four ſhips to Alvarado, ſix to De Oli, and two to Sandoval, making in all twelve, for the thirteenth, named "Buſca Ruido," or "Follow the Noiſe," being found to be too ſmall, was ordered to be laid up, and her crew divided among the reſt, as we had twenty very badly wounded already on board the ſhips. Alvarado now ordered us out upon the cauſeway, and, placing two of the ſhips on each ſide, he thereby protected the flanks. We drove the enemy from ſeveral bridges and barricades, but after fighting during the whole day, we were obliged at night to retreat to our quarters, almoſt every man of us wounded by the ſhowers of arrows and ſtones, which exceeded imagination; for we were attacked conſtantly

conſtantly by freſh troops bearing different devices, by land, while from the terraces of the houſes the enemy commanded our ſhips. As we could not leave a party to ſecure what we got in the day, at night the enemy repoſſeſſed themſelves of the bridges, and put better defences on them. They deepened the water in ſome places, and in the ſhallow part they dug pits, and placed canoes in ambuſcade, which they ſecured from the attacks of our veſſels by paliſades under the water. This was the manner in which they oppoſed us every day. The cavalry as I before obſerved could do nothing; the enemy had built parapets acroſs the cauſeways, which they defended with long lances, and even had an attack been practicable, the ſoldiers would not riſk their horſes, which at this time coſt eight hundred crowns, and ſome more than one thouſand; nor indeed were they to be had at any price.

When we arrived at night, we were employed in curing our wounds, and a ſoldier named Juan Catalan alſo healed them by charms and prayers, which, with the mercy of our Lord Jeſus, recovered us very faſt. But, wounded or not, we were obliged to go againſt the enemy every day, as otherwiſe our companies would not have been twenty men ſtrong. When our allies ſaw that the beforementioned ſoldier cured us by charms and prayers, all their wounded came to him, ſo that he had more buſineſs on his hands than he knew what to do with. Every day our enſign was diſabled, not having it in his power to carry the colours

colours and defend himſelf. Corn we had ſufficiency of, but we wanted refreſhments for the wounded. What preſerved us was the plant called "quilites," cherries while in ſeaſon, and "tunas" or Indian figs. The ſituation of our other parties round the lake was ſimilar to what I have here deſcribed.

The enemy in the city ruſhed out on the ſignal being made from the top of the great temple of Taltelulco; and theſe attacks were made every day, and repeated by freſh troops, who were formed and marched out in ſucceſſion. Finding that we gained ſo little, and loſt ſo much, we reſolved to change our plan of operations. There was on our cauſeway a ſmall open place, where were ſome buildings for religious worſhip; here we eſtabliſhed a poſt, and lodged ourſelves, though very badly (as every ſhower of rain came in upon us) leaving our cavalry and Indian allies to ſecure our rear in Tacuba, from which place we were ſupplied with bread. From this time, as we advanced, we filled the water cuts which interſected the cauſeway, and proſtrated the houſes which were on each ſide of it; for it was exceeding difficult to ſet them on fire, nor could the flames communicate from one to another, on account of the water which was between them; and if we threw ourſelves into the water to ſwim to a houſe, the enemy deſtroyed us from their terraces. We guarded every paſs day and night as we gained it, and our method of keeping guard was as follows:

The

The company which was first for duty took it from sun set to midnight with forty men; the second company with the same number came on at midnight, and remained until two hours before day break, the first guard not quitting the post, but sleeping on the ground; this second guard watched the hours of lethargy, and after them came on the third company for the two hours until day, at which time, as those who were relieved did not quit the post, there were an hundred and twenty men at the guard. Sometimes our whole detachment remained under arms during the night, for our prisoners had informed us that it was the intention of the Mexicans, by a great effort, to force our post, as they knew that by so doing they would entirely disconcert the plans of the other two; and it was intended that the nine towns in and about the lake, including ours of Tacuba, together with Ezcapuzalco and Tenayuca, should make a joint effort, and attack us in the rear while the Mexicans attacked us in front. It was at the same time intended to carry off our luggage and bakery in Tacuba. This intelligence we immediately communicated to our cavalry, warning them and our allies to be well on their guard.

As we had been informed, so it happened; we were attacked for several nights in succession, from midnight to the break of day. The enemy sometimes came on with great noise, at others stole upon us in silence, but during the night their attacks were never

never made with ſo much reſolution as in the day. We were however haraſſed to death with wounds, fatigues, wind, rain and cold. The place where we were poſted was now mud and water, and our miſerable food of maize, and herbs withal! but, as our officers ſaid, ſuch is the fortune of war! With all our ſufferings nothing effectual was gained: the parapets we threw down, or the ditches we filled up, during the day, the enemy replaced in the enſuing night. What uſe was our cutting off their water, or cloſing their cauſeways againſt them, when they were ſupplied by canoes with whatever they wanted from the neighbouring towns on the lake? In order to prevent this, it was determined that two of our veſſels ſhould cruiſe during the night, to intercept them. This was found to anſwer in a conſiderable degree, but ſtill ſome eſcaped into the city.

The Mexicans had the boldneſs at this time to form a plan for the ſurpriſe of theſe veſſels. For this purpoſe they prepared thirty of their largeſt piraguas, and concealed them among reeds, ſending two or three canoes along the lake, as if conveying proviſions, by way of a bait for our veſſels. The Mexicans had alſo fixed piles of large timber below the water, in the direction which our ſhips were to be drawn in. The canoes being perceived by our people, two veſſels ſallied out upon them; the others appeared to take fright, and rowed towards the ambuſcade, followed by our veſſels, which, as ſoon as they arrived near

enough, were ſurrounded by the thirty piraguas. By the firſt diſcharge they wounded every officer, ſoldier and rower on board; and the veſſels could not ſtir on account of the piles of timber. The enemy, continuing their attacks, killed a captain named Portilla; he was a gentleman who had ſerved in Italy. Captain Pedro Barba alſo of the croſs-bow-men died of his wounds, and the veſſels fell into their hands. Theſe belonged to the principal diviſion, which Cortes commanded; he was much exaſperated, but in the courſe of a ſhort time repaid them well in their own way.

Cortes, as alſo our other chiefs, by his order, purſued their plan of advancing againſt the city. As they gained ground, they threw down the houſes, and with the materials filled up the ditches or canals which croſſed the cauſeways; and our brave Tlaſcalan allies rendered us the greateſt ſervices during the whole war. The Mexicans oppoſed our progreſs by breaking a bridge in the rear of their parapets and barricades, where the water was very deep, leaving one obvious paſs as a decoy, and in other parts, pitfalls under the water; they alſo made parapets on both ſides of the breach, they placed paliſades in the deep water where our veſſels could approach, and they had canoes manned ready to ſally out upon the ſignal given. When they had made theſe preparations they advanced againſt us in three bodies, one by the ſide of Tacuba, the other by the ruins of the houſes which

which had been deſtroyed, and the third by the cauſeway where they had made the works. Alvarado had brought part of his cavalry to our poſt, ſince the houſes were deſtroyed. We repulſed the enemy on all ſides, and one party of us, having forced them from the work I have mentioned, croſſed the water, up to our necks, at the paſs they had left open, and followed them, until we came to a place where were large temples and towers of idols. Here we were aſſailed by freſh troops from the houſes and roofs, and thoſe whom we purſued faced about and came againſt us. We were obliged to retreat, which we did with regularity, but when we came to the water, we found that the enemy in their canoes had got poſſeſſion of the paſs where we had croſſed. We were therefore obliged to look for other places, but as they came preſſing on us, we were at length compelled to throw ourſelves into the lake and get over as we could. Thoſe who were not able to ſwim fell into the pits; the enemy cloſed in upon them, wounded moſt, and took five of our ſoldiers alive. The veſſels which came to our relief could not approach, being embarraſſed among the paliſades, and here they loſt two ſoldiers. It was a wonder that we were not all deſtroyed in the pitfalls. A number of the enemy laid hands on me, but our Lord Jeſus Chriſt gave me force to diſengage my arm, and by dint of a good ſword I got free from them, though wounded, and arrived on the dry ground, where I fainted away, and remained ſenſeleſs for a time. This was owing to my great exertions

exertions and loſs of blood. When this mob had their claws on me, I recommended myſelf to our Lord and his bleſſed Mother, and they heard my prayer, glorified be they for all their mercies! One of our cavalry croſſed the water with us this day; he and his horſe were killed. Fortunately, the reſt were with Alvarado in Tacuba; had they been with us they muſt have been all deſtroyed from the tops of the buildings, for the action took place as it were within the very city. After this ſucceſs the enemy kept us conſtantly employed during the day and night, by attacks upon our poſts. Cortes was much diſſatisfied at hearing of our defeat, which he conſidered as owing to our neglect of his directions that the cuts acroſs the cauſeways ſhould be filled with timber and ſods as we advanced.

In the ſpace of four days, and with the loſs of ſix ſoldiers, we completely filled up this great aperture, and here we eſtabliſhed our advanced poſt, the enemy having one oppoſite to us. Their method of keeping guard was this; they made a great fire in their front which concealed them from our view, except when they came to renew the fire, as it was ſometimes extinguiſhed by the rains, which were at that ſeaſon frequent and heavy. They kept profound ſilence on guard, nor was it ever interrupted except by their ſignals, which were given by a whiſtle. Our ſhot did no execution among them, for they fortified their poſt by a parapet and a new ditch. Having deſcribed

ſcribed the manner in which guard was kept on each ſide, I will now give an account of our daily employment. In the morning we marched againſt the enemy; after engaging them during the whole day we retreated, towards evening, covered with wounds, firſt clearing the cauſeway of our allies whoſe numbers embarraſſed us, a circumſtance the enemy were watchful to take advantage of; after which we fell back ſtep by ſtep, firing at the enemy as they advanced, and being flanked by the armed veſſels, until we reached our poſt. When we arrived in our quarters we ſat down to our miſery of maize cakes, herbs, and tunas, curing our wounds with oil, and remaining all night ſubject to conſtant alarms.

Cortes and his party were employed in the ſame manner, and his loſs in killed and wounded was by this time become very conſiderable. He conſtantly ſent out veſſels at night to ſcour the lake, and one night they brought in to him ſome priſoners of conſequence; from them he learned that the enemy had formed an ambuſcade ſimilar to their former one, of forty piraguas and the ſame number of canoes. Cortes then prepared ſix veſſels, and ſent them during the night, and with muffled oars, to a place of concealment within a quarter of a league's diſtance of that of the enemy. It muſt be obſerved that the buſhes and tall reeds, and the water cuts at the edges of the lake, favoured thoſe deceptions. Early in the morning one of our veſſels was ſent as if in ſearch of the

the Mexican canoes which went with provisions to the city, the prisoners being put on board it in order to point out the place where their flotilla was concealed. The enemy also played off the deception of loaded canoes to draw us thither, and these canoes pretending to endeavour to escape, rowed towards the ambuscade laid by their party; our vessel pursued them very near it, and then brought to, as if from apprehension. The enemy's flotilla perceiving that she did not advance, sallied out on her, those on board of her rowing towards that part where our ships were concealed. When they found that the enemy were brought to that point where we wished them to be, the crew fired two shots as a signal to our ambuscade, immediately on which the vessels pushed out, and falling on the enemy ran down several, and dispersed the rest, making a number of prisoners. This gave them enough of ambuscades, nor did they from that time run across to Mexico so openly as before.

The people of the cities in the lake, growing tired of this warfare, waited on Cortes at this time in order to make submission, declaring that they had been forced into hostility by the Mexicans. Cortes received them with affability, gave them assurances of protection according to their behaviour, and at the same time told them that he expected their assistance in the supply of boats and provisions, and in erecting barracks for the troops. This they promised readily, but performed very badly. Cortes had huts built for his

his detachment, but the reſt remained expoſed to the weather, a very ſevere duty in itſelf in that climate, where, during the months of June, July and Auguſt, it rains continually.

Our detachment perſevered in filling up every ditch and canal, as we proceeded, with the materials of the houſes which we deſtroyed; and conſtantly gained temples, bridges, or houſes which ſtood ſeparate from each other, and were acceſſible by draw-bridges only. To prevent jealouſy the companies took the working and covering parties alternately, and towards evening, when we drew off, the whole ſtood to their arms, and retreated, ſending our Indian allies before us. The latter rendered us moſt important aſſiſtance in the working duty, both in pulling down the houſes, and filling the apertures. Sandoval during this time was obliged to ſuſtain conſtant attacks, and Cortes on his ſide attacked one of the out poſts of the city, where the canal which croſſed the cauſeway was too deep to be forded. The enemy had fortified it ſtrongly, and defended it both by land and water. Cortes commanded the attack in perſon, and with ſucceſs; but at night he was obliged to retire without filling the ditch, and with the loſs of four Spaniards killed, and above thirty wounded, for the paſs was commanded from the terraces, and the paliſades made in the water prevented the approach of the veſſels.

Guatimotzin

Guatimotzin now determined to wear us out by continual efforts. Accordingly, on the twenty-firſt of June, the anniverſary of the day of our entry into Mexico, the enemy attacked us at every point with their whole force by land and water, at the hour of the ſecond ſleep, or of lethargy, that is two hours before day. The number fit for duty at our poſt was one hundred and twenty; our allies we had ſent entirely off the cauſeway, and it was with our utmoſt efforts that we could reſiſt the enemy. We at length however repulſed them from all our poſts, but with the loſs of many killed and wounded. Alvarado's detachment loſt two ſoldiers on this occaſion. The enemy's attacks were continued for two nights ſucceſſively upon the different poſts, and they afterwards concentrated their whole force in an aſſault upon ours, which took place at day break. This was the moſt deſperate of all: if our allies had been with us we ſhould have been loſt. Our cavalry on this occaſion ſaved our flanks, and we had conſiderable ſupport from our ſhips. Eight of our ſoldiers were killed in this attack, and Alvarado was wounded; but we ultimately beat the enemy off, and alſo made four of their chiefs priſoners. I fear to tire my readers with this repetition of battles. For ninety-three days together we were employed in the ſiege of this great and ſtrong city, and every day and every night we were engaged with the enemy. Of courſe they muſt pardon what my duty as an hiſtorian compels me to relate: ſtill, were I to extend my narrative to include every

every action which took place, it would be almoſt endleſs, and my hiſtory would reſemble that of Amadis and the other books of chivalry.

Cortes, growing weary of delay, called a council of war, relative to a general aſſault upon the city. His plan was, to march by the three cauſeways, and to endeavour to gain the great ſquare, where, uniting our whole force, we ſhould command all the ſtreets leading to it. Upon this propoſal there was a great difference of opinion, for many thought our preſent method of proceeding by filling the canals as we advanced, deſtroying the houſes, and making a road with the materials, was preferable to that recommended by Cortes, whereby, in going into the heart of the city, we ſhould become the beſieged inſtead of being the beſiegers, and fall exactly into the ſituation in which we were when obliged to fly from Mexico. We ſhould alſo they ſaid be involved in greater difficulties than formerly, for the enemy would now bring their whole power by land and water upon us, ſo that we ſhould have to contend with them in the city, on the lake, and all round it, without the poſſibility of retreat, which they could preclude by cutting the cauſeways. When Cortes had heard the opinions of all, and the good reaſons upon which they were founded, the reſult was, that he gave orders for our whole force, together with our allies, to attack

the city on the enſuing day, and to get poſſeſſion of the great ſquare.

On the next morning therefore, having heard maſs, and recommending ourſelves to God, our three detachments marched againſt the enemy's poſts in their front. Thoſe commanded by Cortes and Sandoval met with leſs violent oppoſition than that which fell to the lot of the diviſion of Alvarado, to which I belonged. In our attack upon the firſt dike, moſt of the Spaniards received wounds, one was killed, and above one thouſand of our allies killed or wounded. Cortes at firſt bore down all before him, and having driven the enemy from a poſt where the water was very deep and the cauſeway very narrow, he was induced to purſue them in their retreat to the city, his Indian allies crowding cloſe after the Spaniards. The enemy induced him by frequent halts and feigned attacks to continue the purſuit, and the cauſeway had been narrowed, to anſwer their deſign. It was the will of our Lord that Cortes and his captains ſhould be ſo negligent as to omit filling the ditch which they had paſſed. The cauſeway was alſo in ſome parts covered with water, and deep in mud. When the enemy ſaw our Cortes thus run into the trap which they had laid, multitudes in canoes ſallied out againſt him and took him on his flanks and rear, his own veſſels not being able to approach on account of the paliſadoes. It became now neceſſary for the troops to retreat, which they did at firſt with great regularity,

ty, but when they came to the narrow paſs I have before mentioned, the difficulty of the ground, with the fury of the attack, from a retreat turned it into a race, our people flying before the enemy without attempting to defend themſelves. Our Cortes uſed every exertion to rally them, but in vain; he received a wound in the leg from the enemy on board the canoes at the paſs, where they killed ſix of our horſes, and carried off ſeventy-two Spaniards alive. Six chiefs ſeized upon Cortes, but it was the will of God that he ſhould eſcape, for that valiant ſoldier Chriſtoval de Oli, ſeeing his general's danger, flew to his aſſiſtance, as did another brave man named Lerma. Oli with his own hand killed four of the ſix Mexican chiefs, gallantly loſing his own life in defence of his general, and Lerma eſcaped with the greateſt difficulty. Other ſoldiers now arrived to the aſſiſtance of our Cortes; amongſt the number was Quinones, captain of his guards. They took him out of the water in their arms, and placing him on a horſe, hurried him off from the crowd of enemies, and ſhortly after, his major domo, named Chriſtoval de Guzman, brought one of his own horſes for him. The enemy followed up their attack with ardour, and the unfortunate Guzman, being ſeized by them, was carried alive to Mexico. Cortes and the ſhattered remains of his troops, purſued to the laſt, arrived with great difficulty at their quarters, where I will leave them for the preſent, to relate what happened in the diviſion commanded by Alvarado.

After

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After our firſt attack, wherein we defeated the enemy, as we were advancing, we were met by freſh troops in great parade, bearing plumes of feathers, and devices on their ſtandards. When we came near them they threw down before us five bleeding heads, crying out to us that they were thoſe of Cortes and his officers, and that we ſhould meet the ſame fate with our companions; they then marched up, and, fighting us foot to foot, compelled us to retreat. We as uſual called to our allies to clear the way for us, but in the preſent caſe there was no occaſion; the ſight of the bloody heads had done it effectually, nor did one of them remain on the cauſeway to impede our retreat. Before we arrived at our quarters, and while the enemy were purſuing us, we heard their ſhrill timbals, and the diſmal ſound of the great drum, from the top of the principal temple of the god of war, which overlooked the whole city. Its mournful noiſe was ſuch as may be imagined the muſic of the infernal gods, and it might be heard at the diſtance of almoſt three leagues. They were then ſacrificing the hearts of ten of our companions to their idols. Shortly after this the king of Mexico's horn was blown, giving notice to his captains that they were then to take their enemies priſoners, or die in the attempt. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the fury with which they cloſed upon us when they heard this ſignal. Though all is as perfect to my recollection as if paſſing before my eyes, it is utterly beyond my power to deſcribe; all I can ſay is, it was God's will that we ſhould eſcape

from

from their hands, and get back in ſafety to our poſt. Praiſed be he for his mercies, now and at all other times!

Our cavalry made ſeveral charges this day, but our great ſupport was in two guns which raked the cauſeway, and were commanded by a gentleman named Pedro Moreno de Medrano, who always bore a high reputation as an officer, but whoſe ſervices on this day were moſt important, for the whole cauſeway was crowded with the enemy. We were as yet ignorant of the fate of our other detachments. Sandoval was above half a league diſtant, and Cortes ſtill farther. The melancholy ſight of the remains of our countrymen, and the loſs of one of our veſſels, three of the ſoldiers of which the enemy had killed, impreſſed our minds with deſpair, and we thought this the laſt hour of our lives. The veſſel was afterwards recovered by that commanded by captain Juan Xaramillo. Captain Juan de Limpias Caravajal, who now lives in La Puebla, a moſt gallant officer, had the honour of being the firſt who with his veſſel broke through the enemy's paliſades, totally loſing his hearing, from this day, by exceſs of courage.

Cortes, moſt of whoſe ſoldiers had been killed, and what remained alive, wounded, was attacked in his quarters by a great body of the enemy, who threw over to him the heads of our companions, alledging them to be thoſe of Alvarado, Sandoval, and others, in

in order to impreſs the ſoldiers of Cortes and our allies with the idea that they had been equally ſucceſsful againſt the other detachments. When Cortes beheld the horrid ſpectacle his heart ſunk within him, but he kept up appearances, and, ordering all to ſtand to their arms, made a front to the enemy. He then ſent Andres de Tapia with three more mounted men to our quarters, in order to aſcertain what the ſtate of affairs was. In their way thither they were attacked by many bodies of the enemy, whom the king of Mexico had placed upon a plan of intercepting our communications. On their arrival they found us engaged with the Mexican forces. They at that time concealed the loſs of Cortes, ſtating it at no more than five-and-twenty.

It is now neceſſary to advert to Sandoval, who had gone on victorious until the defeat of Cortes; after which the enemy turned on him, and in their firſt attack killed two ſoldiers and wounded all the reſt, giving Sandoval himſelf three wounds, one of which was in the head. As they had done elſewhere, they threw before his troops ſix heads of their companions, recently taken off, threatening them with the like fate. Sandoval was not to be terrified; he warned his ſoldiers to preſerve a good countenance, and ſeeing no hopes of ſucceſs, brought his diviſion back to their quarters, with many wounds it is true, but with the loſs of only two of their number. Sandoval then, wounded as he was, leaving the command

of

of his poſt to captain Luis Marin, ſet out on horſe-back to have an interview with Cortes. As he went he was aſſailed by the enemy, but he arrived at the general's quarters, and, addreſſing him in terms of ſurpriſe and condolence, aſked him how this ill ſucceſs had happened. "Son Sandoval" ſaid Cortes, with tears in his eyes, "it is for my ſins that this misfortune has befallen me; but the fault is with the treaſurer Alderete, who was ordered by me to fill up the bad paſs where the enemy threw us into confuſion." The treaſurer then exclaimed, that it was with Cortes himſelf the fault lay, he having never given any ſuch orders, but hurrying on his men after the enemy in their feigned retreat, crying, "Forward, gentlemen! forward!" Cortes was alſo very much blamed for not having ſent his allies out of the way early enough: However, I will omit to detail any more of the converſation which paſſed at this time between Cortes and the treaſurer, as it happened in the heat of anger and diſappointment. Cortes was agreeably ſurpriſed by the arrival of two of his veſſels which he had given up for loſt, although he did not expreſs himſelf ſo. Cortes deſired Sandoval to go to our quarters at Tacuba, as he apprehended that the weight of the enemy's attack would fall upon this poſt, and recommended that he ſhould pay attention to our affairs, as he himſelf was at preſent unable to do ſo. Sandoval, ſetting out, arrived at Tacuba about the hour of veſpers. He alſo found us, as Tapia had done, occupied in repelling the enemy, ſome of whom were attacking us by

by the cauſeway, others by that of the ruined houſes. I was at this time, together with others of our ſoldiers, up to my waiſt in the water, defending a veſſel which was aground, and engaged with the enemy, who were endeavouring to get poſſeſſion of her. Juſt as Sandoval arrived, however, by a great effort we got the veſſel afloat, but with the loſs of two of the crew killed, and every man on board wounded. The enemy now attacked us with more violence. Sandoval received a blow on the face with a ſtone, and called to us loudly to retreat; we not falling back as faſt as he wiſhed, he called again to us, aſking if we wanted to have all the cavalry deſtroyed. We then retreated until we reached our poſt, during the time of which our two guns, under the direction of Medrano, though they frequently ſwept the cauſeway, could not prevent the enemy from following us cloſely.

Here we were for a time at reſt, and engaged in relating the events which had happened at each poſt, when on a ſudden our ears were ſtruck by the horrific ſound of the great drum, the timbals, horn and trumpets, in the temple of the war god. We all directed our eyes thither, and, ſhocking to relate! ſaw our unfortunate countrymen driven by force, cuffs, and baſtinades, to the place where they were to be ſacrificed, which bloody ceremony was accompanied by the mournful ſound of all the inſtruments of the temple. We perceived that when they had brought the unfortunate victims to the flat ſummit of the body of the temple,

temple, where were the adoratories, they put plumes upon their heads, and with a kind of fan in the hand of each, made them dance before their accurſed idols. When they had done this, they laid them upon their backs, on the ſtone uſed for that purpoſe, where they cut out their hearts, alive, and having preſented them, yet palpitating, to their gods, they drew the bodies down the ſteps by the feet, where they were taken by others of their prieſts. Let the reader think what were our ſenſations on this occaſion. Oh, heavenly God! ſaid we to ourſelves, do not ſuffer us to be ſacrificed by theſe wretches! do not ſuffer us to die ſo cruel a death! and then how ſhocking a reflection, that we were unable to relieve our poor friends who were thus murdered before our eyes! At this moment the enemy aſſailed our poſt in great force, reviling us, and ſaying their gods had promiſed us all to them. Our Indian allies ſunk under the dreadful ideas they expreſſed, when they threw among them alſo ſome of the mangled remains of their horrid feaſts, other parts being ſent round all the neighbouring diſtricts as a triumphant memorial. We ſtill however maintained poſſeſſion of our poſt, one half of our cavalry being on the cauſeway and the other half in the town.

Our new allies on the lake had ſuffered conſiderably by the enemy, having loſt half their canoes, but they continued firm to us, from animoſity to them, or contented themſelves with being mere lookers on,

and did not moleſt us. Cortes in conſequence of our loſſes ordered a ceſſation of attacks, which laſted for the ſpace of four days, during which we did not quit our poſts, having loſt near eighty men and ſeven horſes in the laſt engagement. The enemy alſo gained ground on us, and made new ditches and water cuts, but we had a very deep and defenſible one in front of our quarters. Sandoval and Tapia, on their return to the general, reported to him the valiant manner in which our ſoldiers were behaving when they arrived at our poſt; Sandoval alſo mentioned me particulary, and ſaid thoſe things in my commendation, which, excluſive of the facts being known to our whole army, would not be proper to repeat of myſelf.

During this ceſſation, our whole force of infantry kept guard on the cauſeway at night, flanked by the brigantines, one half of the cavalry patroling in Tacuba, the other half on the cauſeway. In the morning we prepared to receive the enemy, who every day continued ſacrificing our poor companions, and when they attacked, reviled us, ſaying that our fleſh was too bitter to be eaten; and truly it ſeems that ſuch a miracle was wrought. For five days together the enemy continued their aſſaults, being promiſed, as they ſaid, our deſtruction, by their gods, within the ſpace of eight days; but their gods, as it appears to me, were perverſe and treacherous to them, not permitting them to think of peace, and thus leading them to ruin. This language, however, and the laſt menace

menace in particular, had such an effect upon our allies, together with the bad appearance of our affairs, that they almost entirely deserted us in the course of the night. The only one who remained with Cortes was Suchel, otherwise Don Carlos, brother of Fernando lord of Tezcuco. He was a man of great bravery. His friends who staid by him amounted to about forty. With Sandoval remained the chief of Guaxocingo, with about fifty, and in ours the brave Chichimecatecle, the two sons of our friend D. Lorenzo de Vargas, and about eighty Tlascalans. Being questioned as to the flight of their countrymen, they said, that the gods of the Mexicans had predicted our destruction; that they saw us all wounded, and many killed, that their own loss was above one thousand two hundred killed, and that the younger Xiotenga had from the first foretold that we should be all put to death; and therefore, considering us as lost, their countrymen had quitted us. Cortes, though he thought what they said much too true, put on a cheerful appearance, ridiculed the predictions of the enemy, and assured them that all would do well. He thereby was fortunate enough to induce the few who yet remained to stay with us to the last. The Indian Don Carlos, a brave and wise man, now represented to Cortes the erroneous system on which he had acted, and also that which the situation of the enemy pointed out, advising him not to suffer his troops to fight. "Cut off," said he, "their provisions and water; there are in Mexico so many Xiquipils of warriors, how can they subsist?

their

their proviſions muſt at ſome time be expended, the water which they get from the wells is ſalt, and they have no reſource but from the frequent rains: fight them by hunger and thirſt, and do not throw away your own force." Cortes embraced D. Carlos for his advice; not that the ſame had not occurred to many of us before, but we were too impatient.

Cortes began upon his new ſyſtem, by ſending orders to all the detachments to remain in their quarters for the next three days. As the enemy were ſo ſtrong upon the lake, we always ſent out two veſſels in company; they had now acquired the method of breaking through the paliſadoes by the force of oars and ſails, when there was a good wind. Thus we were maſters of the lake, and alſo of all the houſes which were at any little diſtance from the city. This ſlackened the triumphs of the Mexicans. As our veſſels broke through the enemy's paliſadoes, they could flank us while we carried on our work, filling the ditches in our front. This we effected at all our poſts in the ſpace of four days, Cortes himſelf carrying the beams and earth.

During each night of this period the enemy continued beating their accurſed drum in the great temple. Nothing can equal the diſmal impreſſion its ſound conveyed. They were then in the execution of their infernal ceremonies; the whole place was illuminated, and their ſhrieks at certain intervals peirced

ed the air. For ten nights together were they thus employed in putting to death our unfortunate companions. Chriſtoval de Guzman was the laſt ſacrificed; he was in their hands eighteen days; this we were informed by ſome of our priſoners, and for every ſacrifice we were told that their war god renewed to them the promiſe of victory. The enemy at times during the foregoing period brought our own croſs-bows againſt us, and made the unfortunate priſoners ſhoot them; but our poſt derived its ſafety from the excellent management of the two guns under P. M. Medrano, and we ſtill advanced, gaining every day a bridge or a parapet. Our veſſels alſo continually intercepted their canoes loaded with proviſion and water, alſo thoſe which were employed in procuring that nutritive ſubſtance which when dry reſembles cheeſe, and is found at the bottom of the lake. In this manner of proceeding twelve or thirteen days had now paſſed; our lives therefore exceeded the date allowed them by the prediction of the Mexican prieſts. This gave our allies courage, and, in compliance with the requiſition of our ſteady friend Suchel, two thouſand warriors from Tezcuco returned to us. There came with them captain Pedro Sanchez Farfan, and Anthonio de Villaroel, afterwards married to La Ojeda, who had been left behind in Tezcuco. Many bodies alſo of our Tlaſcalan and other allies arrived about the ſame time. Cortes, having ſummoned their chiefs, made them a ſpeech, partly of reprimand and partly of hopes and promiſes, concluding

cluding it with an admonition to them not to put to death any of the Mexicans, as it was his wiſh to negotiate for peace.

The heavy rains at this ſeaſon of the year were much in our favour, the enemy always relaxing in their exertions when they came on. We had now advanced conſiderably into the city at each of the three attacks; we had alſo reached the fountains of brackiſh water, which we totally deſtroyed, and the cavalry could act through the whole ſpace which we had gained, as it was our care to make it level for them.

Our general thought the preſent a good juncture to offer peace to the Mexicans; he therefore propoſed to three of his principal priſoners to go with his meſſage to their king, Guatimotzin; but they declined it, alledging that he would certainly put them to death. At length however he prevailed with them to carry his propoſal, which was to this purport: That from the affection he bore to all the family of the great Montezuma, in order alſo to prevent the deſtruction of that great city, and the loſs of lives, he was willing to treat of peace, calling to the recollection of Guatimotzin that his troops and people were cut off from proviſions and water, and that all thoſe nations which had formerly been the vaſſals of Mexico were now the allies of the Spaniards; with many more ſtrong arguments to the ſame purpoſe, which the ambaſſadors

dors very well underſtood. Previous to their going they deſired that the general would provide them with a letter, under which authority they waited on the monarch, ſobbing and wailing bitterly, as knowing the danger which attended their buſineſs. At firſt Guatimotzin and his chiefs appeared enraged, but the moderation of his diſpoſition prevailed, and he reſolved to call a council, compoſed of the princes, chiefs and prieſts of the city. Guatimotzin opened the buſineſs by expreſſing his own inclination to come into terms, expoſing the inefficacy of their reſiſtance, the deſertion of their allies, and the diſtreſſes of the people. The prieſts took the oppoſite opinion. They repreſented the conduct of the Spaniards from the firſt, their treatment of his uncle the great Montezuma, of Cacamatzin, and of various other princes, as ſoon as they had got them in their power; alſo the death of the two ſons of Montezuma, which they laid to their charge, the deſtruction and waſte of the wealth of Mexico, and the marks of ſlavery with which they had branded other nations. They reminded him of his own martial fame and conduct, of the inſidiouſneſs of Cortes and his offers, and the promiſes of victory they had obtained from their gods. Guatimotzin then expreſſed his determination to fight to the laſt man, and gave orders to ſpare the proviſions as much as poſſible, to ſink wells in various places, and to endeavour to obtain ſupplies by night.

Our

Our army remained at their posts for two days quietly, expecting the answer from Mexico. We were then attacked at all points by great bodies of the enemy, who fell on us like lions, closing upon and endeavouring to seize us in their hands, whenever the horn of Guatimotzin was sounded. For seven days were we thus engaged, watching in a body during the night, at day break going into action, fighting during the day, and in the evening retiring to console ourselves with our misery of maize cakes, agi or pepper, tunas, and herbs. Our offer of peace only served for new matter for the enemy to revile us on, reproaching us as cowards, and saying, that peace was for women, and arms for men.

It has been mentioned that the wretched remains of our countrymen were sent round to different provinces, to summon and encourage them to come to the aid of the Mexicans. In consequence, a force assembled from Matalzingo, Malinalco, and other places at the distance of eight leagues from Mexico, to fall on our rear, while the enemy from the city attacked us in front. When they had assembled as above mentioned, they began to commit outrages upon the country between them and us, seizing the children in order to sacrifice. Complaints of this coming to Cortes, he detached Andres de Tapia with twenty cavalry and one hundred infantry against the enemy. This officer executed his mission completely, driving them back to their own country with loss.

Cortes

Cortes then ſent Sandoval to aſſiſt the people of the diſtrict called by us Cuernabaca, who were attacked in the ſame manner. There is much to ſay in reſpect to this expedition; too much indeed to be able to do juſtice to it without going into the details. Suffice it that it was more peaceable than warlike, and of the happieſt effect for us, Sandoval returning accompanied by two chiefs of the nation he had marched againſt. His return was very ſudden, in order to protect our poſts, which were in a moſt perilous way; for this draft had diſmantled them, as he had with him every man really fit for duty, being twenty cavalry and eighty infantry. However, he by his expedition ſaved both our allies and us.

Cortes now again ſent an embaſſy to Guatimotzin, ſaying he had his Monarch's orders to ſave if poſſible that fine city; he reminded Guatimotzin of the diſtreſs of the wretched people, and to convince him that he had no hope from his allies, he ſent the meſſage by the two chiefs who accompanied Sandoval. The Mexican monarch returned no anſwer, except ordering the ambaſſadors immediately to quit the city. The enemy now increaſed every day the fury of their attacks; their expreſſions were, "Tenitoz re de Caſtilla? Tenitoz axaca?" which means, "What ſays the king of Caſtille? What does he now?" We ſtill continued advancing towards the heart of the city, and obſerved that notwithſtanding the rage with which they aſſailed us (for it ſeemed as if they wiſh-

ed to meet their deaths) there was not so much movement among them as formerly, nor did they so busily employ themselves in opening the ditches. We also had cause for reflection of a less pleasant nature, which was, that our powder was almost reduced to nothing. At this moment, most fortunately, arrived at the port of Villa Rica a vessel with soldiers and ordnance stores, one of an armament fitted out by the licentiate Lucas Vasquez de Aillon, which had been destroyed or dispersed near the islands of Florida. The relief and reinforcement were immediately forwarded to Cortes, by his lieutenant, Rangel. It was now determined by Cortes and all the army to push for the great place or Tatelulco of the city, on account of the principal temples and strong buildings being there. Each of our detachments therefore advanced for the purpose. Cortes got possession of a small square at which were some temples; in those temples were beams whereon were placed the heads of many of our soldiers: their hair and beards had much grown. I could not have believed it had I not seen it with my own eyes in three days after, when our party had advanced near enough to get a view of them, after having filled two canals. I recognised the features of three of our friends, and the tears came into my eyes at the sight. In twelve days they were all buried by us in that which is now named the Church of the Martyrs.

The

The detachment of Alvarado continued to advance, and after an engagement of two hours forced the enemy from their barricades in the great ſquare. The cavalry now rendered good ſervice in the open ſpace, and the enemy were driven before us into the temple of the war god. Alvarado divided his forces into three bodies, and while he occupied the attention of the enemy with two, he ordered the third, commanded by Gutierre de Badajoz, to drive them from, and take poſſeſſion of, the great temple. The enemy, headed by their prieſts, occupied the adoratories or ſanctuaries of their idols, and repulſed our troops, driving them down the ſteps; which being obſerved by Alvarado, he then ſent us to ſupport them, and on our arrival, having aſcended to the top, we completely drove the enemy from that poſt; having done which we ſet fire to the images of their falſe gods, and planted our ſtandard on the ſummit of the temple. The view of this ſignal of victory rejoiced Cortes, who would fain have joined us, but he had it not in his power. He was then diſtant a quarter of a league, and had many ditches to fill as he advanced. In four days from this time, both he and Sandoval had worked their way to us, and the communications to the three poſts were opened through the centre of the city of Mexico. This attack upon the temple was truly perilous; the edifice was very lofty, and the enemy numerous; and they continued to engage us on the flat ground at the ſummit, from the time that we had ſet fire to the idols and their adoratories until

till night. The royal palaces were now levelled to the ground, Guatimotzin and his troops having retired to a quarter of the city more diſtant from the centre, and towards the lake.

Still they attacked us in the day, and at night purſued us to our quarters, and thus time paſſed over, and no propoſition was made concerning peace. Our chiefs then propoſed a plan of laying ambuſcades. Thirty cavalry and one hundred infantry of the prime of our army, together with one thouſand Tlaſcalans, were poſted in concealment in ſome large houſes which had belonged to a nobleman of the city. This was done during the night. Cortes, with the reſt of his troops, in the morning went to attack a poſt at a bridge, which Guatimotzin had ordered to be ſupported by a large force. Cortes after his firſt attack retreated, drawing the enemy after him, by the buildings where the troops were placed in concealment. At the proper moment he fired two ſhots cloſe together as a ſignal to us; we ſallied out, and the enemy being encloſed between us, our allies, and the party of Cortes, which faced about, a dreadful havoc was made of them, and from that time they no more annoyed us in our retreat. Another trap was alſo laid for them by Alvarado, but not with the ſame ſucceſs: I was not preſent at it, being ordered by Cortes to do duty for that time with his party.

From

From our quarters we had to march above half a league to meet the enemy; we now therefore quitted that poſt altogther, and lodged ourſelves in the great ſquare of Talteluco. Here we were for three days without doing any thing worth mentioning: we alſo abſtained from deſtroying any more of the city, in the hopes of peace.

Cortes at this time ſent to Guatimotzin, requeſting him to ſurrender, under the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of enjoying the plenitude of power and honours. He accompanied this embaſſy with as handſome a preſent as his ſituation permitted, of proviſions, bread, fowls, fruit, and game. Guatimotzin, as he was adviſed to do by thoſe whom he conſulted, diſſimulated, and ſeemed inclined to a pacification. He ſent four of his principal nobility, with a promiſe to come to an interview with Cortes in three days. But this was all feigned; he employed the time in fortifying his quarter of the town, and making preparations to attack us. He alſo endeavoured to amuſe us by a ſecond embaſſy, but we were now adviſed of his ſchemes. In fact, from what he was told by thoſe about him, and from the example of his uncle Montezuma, he was afraid to truſt himſelf in our hands. But the maſk was ſoon thrown off; we were attacked by great bodies of the enemy, with ſuch violence that it appeared as if all was beginning anew. Having been rather taken by ſurpriſe, they did us at firſt ſome miſchief, killed one ſoldier, and two horſes; but in the end

end we ſent them back with very little to boaſt of. Cortes ordered his troops now to proceed againſt that part of the city where the quarters of Guatimotzin were; accordingly we began upon our former ſyſtem, and gained ground as we had before done elſewhere. When the king perceived this, he deſired an interview with Cortes, on the ſide of a large canal which was to ſeparate them. To this Cortes readily aſſented, and it was to take place on the enſuing morning. Cortes attended, but Guatimotzin never appeared; inſtead of which he ſent ſeveral of his principal nobility, who ſaid that the king did not think proper to come, from an apprehenſion that we might ſhoot him during the parley. Cortes then engaged by the moſt ſolemn oaths not to do him any injury whatever, but it was of no effect. A ridiculous farce was played here: two of the nobility, who attended on the part of Guatimotzin, took out of a ſack, bread, a fowl, and cherries, which they began to eat, in order to impreſs the Spaniards with an idea that they were not in want. Cortes, ſeeing the manner in which he was treated, ſent back an hoſtile meſſage, and retired. After this we were left unmoleſted for the ſpace of four or five days. During this time numbers of wretched Indians, reduced by famine, ſurrounded our quarters every night. Cortes pitied their miſerable ſituation, and hoping that it might induce the enemy to come into terms of accommodation, ordered the ceſſation of hoſtilities to be ſtrictly adhered to; but no overture of the kind was made.

There

There was in the army of Cortes a ſoldier who boaſted of having ſerved in Italy, and of the great battles which he had ſeen there. His name was Sotelo, and he was a native of Seville. This man was eternally talking of the wonderful military machines which he knew the art of conſtructing, and how he could make a ſtone engine which ſhould in two days deſtroy that whole quarter of the city where Guatimotzin had retreated. He told Cortes ſo many fine things of this kind, that he perſuaded him into a trial of his experiments, lime, ſtone and timber being brought, according to his deſire. The carpenters were alſo ſet to work, two ſtrong cables were made, and ſtones the ſize of a buſhel were prepared. The machinery was now all ready, the ſtone which was to be ejected was put in its place, and the whole apparatus was played off* againſt the quarters of Guatimotzin. But behold! inſtead of taking that direction, the ſtone flew up vertically into the air, and returned exactly into the place from whence it had been launched. Cortes was enraged and aſhamed: he reproached the ſoldier, and ordered the machinery to be taken down; but ſtill it continued the joke of the army.

Cortes now gave orders to Sandoval to go with the flotilla againſt that part or nook of the city whither Guatimotzin had retired, cautioning him at the ſame time not to kill or injure any Mexican, unleſs he was attacked,

* From the platform of a theatre.

attacked, nor even then to do more than was abſolutely neceſſary for his own defence; but to level all the houſes, and the many advanced works which the enemy had made in the lake. Cortes aſcended then into the great temple, with ſeveral of his officers and ſoldiers, to obſerve the movements of his fleet. When Sandoval approached the quarters of Guatimotzin, that prince, who had great apprehenſions of being made priſoner, availed himſelf of the preparations which he had made for his eſcape, and embarking himſelf, his family, his courtiers and officers, with their moſt valuable effects, on board fifty large piraguas, the whole body ſet off for the main land, as did all his nobility and chiefs in various directions. Sandoval, who was at this time occupied in making his way by tearing down the houſes, received immediate notice of the flight of Guatimotzin. He inſtantly ſet out in the purſuit, giving ſtrict orders that no injury or inſult ſhould be offered, but that each ſhould keep a ſteady eye upon the royal veſſel, and do his utmoſt to get poſſeſſion of it. He particularly directed, however, Garci Holguin, his intimate friend, and captain of the quickeſt ſailer of the fleet, to make for that part of the ſhore whither Guatimotzin was moſt likely to go. Accordingly this officer followed his inſtructions, and falling in with the veſſels, from certain particulars in its appearance, ſtructure and awning, he aſcertained that which the king was on board of. He made ſigns to the people in it to bring to, but without effect; he then ordered his croſs-bow-men

and

and musketeers to present, upon which Guatimotzin called out to them not to shoot, and, approaching the vessel, acknowledged himself for what he was, declaring his readiness to submit, and go with them to their general, but requesting that his queen, his children and attendants should be suffered to remain unmolested. Holguin received him with the greatest respect, together with his queen, and twenty of his nobility. He seated them on the poop of his ship, and provided refreshments for them, commanding that the piraguas which carried the king's effects should follow untouched.

Sandoval at this moment made a signal for the flotilla to close up to him, and perceived that Guatimotzin was prisoner to Holguin, who was taking him to Cortes. upon this he ordered his rowers to exert their utmost to bring him up to Holguin's vessel, and having arrived by the side of it, he demanded Guatimotzin to be delivered to him, as general of the whole force; but Holguin refused, alledging that he had no claim whatever. A vessel, which went to carry the intelligence of the great event, brought also to Cortes who was then on the summit of the great temple in the Taltelulco, very near the part of the lake where Guatimotzin was captured, an account of the dispute between his officers. Cortes instantly dispatched captain Luis Marin and Francisco de Lugo, to bring the whole party together to his quarters, and thus to stop all litigation;

but he enjoined them not to omit treating Guatimotzin and his queen with the greateſt reſpect. During the interval, he employed himſelf in arranging a ſtate, as well as he could, with cloths and mantles. He alſo prepared a table with refreſhments, to receive his priſoners. As ſoon as they appeared, he went forward to meet them, and embracing Guatimotzin, treated him and all his attendants with every mark of reſpect. The unfortunate monarch, with tears in his eyes, and ſinking under affliction, then addreſſed him in the following words: "Malintzin! I have done that which was my duty in the defence of my kingdom and people; my efforts have failed, and being now brought by force a priſoner in your hands, draw that poniard from your ſide and ſtab me to the heart." Cortes embraced and uſed every expreſſion to comfort him, by aſſurances that he held him in high eſtimation for the valour and firmneſs he had ſhewn, and that he had required a ſubmiſſion from him and the people at the time that they could no longer reaſonably hope for ſucceſs, in order to prevent further deſtruction; but that was all paſt, and no more to be thought of; he ſhould continue to reign over the people, as he had done before. Cortes then inquired after his queen, to which Guatimotzin replied, that in conſequence of the compliance of Sandoval with his requeſt, ſhe and her women remained in the piraguas, until Cortes ſhould decide as to their fate. The general then cauſed them to be ſent for, and treated them in the beſt manner his ſituation afford-

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ed. The evening was drawing on, and it appeared likely to rain; he therefore ſent the whole royal family to Cuyoacan, under the care of Sandoval. The reſt of the troops then returned to their former quarters; we to ours of Tacuba, and Cortes, proceeding to Cuyoacan, took the command there, ſending Sandoval to reſume his ſtation at Tepeaquilla. Thus was the ſiege of Mexico brought to a concluſion by the capture of Guatimotzin and his chiefs, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, at the hour of veſpers, being the day of St. Hyppolitus, in the year of our Lord one thouſand five hundred and twenty-one. Glorified be our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and our lady the Holy Virgin Mary, his bleſſed mother, Amen!

In the night after Guatimotzin was made priſoner, there was the greateſt tempeſt of rain, thunder, and lightning, eſpecially about midnight, that ever was known; but all the ſoldiers were as deaf as if they had been for an hour in a ſteeple, with the bells ringing about their ears. This was owing to the continual noiſe of the enemy for ninety-three days; ſome preparing their troops and bringing them on, ſhouting, calling and whiſtling, as ſignals to attack us on the cauſeway; others in the canoes coming to attack our veſſels; ſome again at work upon their paliſadoes, or opening the ditches and water cuts, and making ſtone parapets, or preparing their magazines of darts and arms, and the women ſupplying the ſlingers with their ammunition. Then, from the temples

temples and adoratories of their accurſed idols, the timbals and horns, and the mournful ſound of their great drum, and other diſmal noiſes, were inceſſantly aſſailing our ears, ſo that day or night we could hardly hear each other ſpeak. But theſe dins immediately ceaſed on the capture of Guatimotzin, for which reaſon, as I have obſerved, we felt like ſo many men juſt eſcaped from a ſteeple where all the bells were ringing about our ears.

Guatimotzin was of a noble appearance, both in perſon and countenance; his features were rather large, and cheerful, with lively eyes. His age was about twenty-three or four years, and his complexion very fair for an Indian. His queen, the niece of Montezuma, was young, and very handſome.

In regard to the diſpute between Sandoval and Holguin, Cortes related to them the circumſtance from the Roman hiſtory, of the capture of Jugurtha, and the diſpute of Marius and Sylla, about which of them ſhould have the honour of it, and that this diſpute was productive of moſt fatal civil wars; but ſaid that he would lay the whole affair before his Majeſty, by whoſe arbitration it ſhould be decided which of the two ſhould have the action emblazoned in his arms. In two years from this time the Emperor's orders upon this ſubject arrived; they were to this purpoſe; that Cortes ſhould bear in his arms the ſeven kings,

kings, repreſenting Montezuma, Guatimotzin, and the princes of Tezcuco, Iztapalapa, Cuyoacan, Tacuba and Matalzingo.

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What I am going to mention is truth, and I ſwear and ſay Amen to it. I have read of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, but I cannot conceive that the mortality there exceeded this of Mexico; for all the people from the diſtant provinces which belonged to this empire had concentrated themſelves here, where they moſtly died. The ſtreets, the ſquares, the houſes and the courts of the Taltelulco, were covered with dead bodies; we could not ſtep without treading on them; the lake and canals were filled with them, and the ſtench was intolerable. For this reaſon our troops immediately after the capture of the royal family retired to their quarters. Cortes himſelf was for ſome time ill from the effect of it.

The veſſels were now the beſt ſituation, thoſe on board carrying away all the plunder, for they had acceſs to houſes in the water which were not in our reach. They alſo found what the Mexicans had concealed in the reeds, and on the borders of the lake, and intercepted that which was carried out of our reach by water. We on land gained nothing but honour and wounds. The wealth our navy got was much more than we could gueſs at; Guatimotzin and all his chiefs declaring, when inquiry was made

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as to the public treaſure, that it had moſtly fallen into their hands.

To return to the ſtate of Mexico. Guatimotzin now requeſted of Cortes that permiſſion ſhould be given to clear the city entirely of the inhabitants, in order to purify it and reſtore its ſalubrity. Accordingly they were ordered to remove to the neighbouring towns, and for three days and three nights all the cauſeways were full, from one end to the other, of men, women and children, ſo weak and ſickly, ſqualid and dirty, and peſtilential, that it was miſery to behold them. When all thoſe who were able had quitted the city, we went to examine the ſtate of it, which was as I have deſcribed. The ſtreets, courts and houſes were covered with dead bodies, and ſome miſerable wretches were creeping about, in the different ſtages of the moſt offenſive diſorders, the conſequences of famine and improper food. The ground was all broken up to get at the roots of ſuch vegetation as it afforded, and the very trees were ſtripped of their bark! There was no freſh water in the town. During all their diſtreſs, however, though their conſtant practice was to feaſt on ſuch as they took priſoners, no inſtance occurred of their having preyed on each other; and certainly never exiſted ſince the creation a people which ſuffered ſo much from hunger, thirſt, and warfare.

After

After having returned thanks to God, Cortes determined to celebrate his ſucceſs by a feſtival in Cuyoacan. A veſſel had arrived at Villa Rica with a cargo of wine, and hogs had been provided from the iſland of Cuba. To this entertainment he invited all the officers of his army, and alſo the ſoldiers of eſtimation, and all things being prepared, on the day appointed we waited on our general. When we came to ſit down to dinner there were not tables for one half of us; this brought on great confuſion among the company, and indeed for many reaſons it would have been much better let alone. The plant of Noah was the cauſe of many fooleries and worſe things: it made ſome leap over the tables who afterwards could not go out at the doors, and many rolled down the ſteps. The private ſoldiers ſwore they would buy horſes with golden harneſs; the croſs-bow-men would uſe none but golden arrows. All were to have their fortunes made. When the tables were taken away the ſoldiers danced in their armour, with the ladies, as many of them as there were, but the diſproportion in number was very great. This ſcene was truly ridiculous. I will not mention the names, ſuffice it to ſay, a fair field was opened for ſatire. Fra. de Olmedo thought what he obſerved at the feaſt, and in the dances, too ſcandalous, and complained to Sandoval; and the latter directly told Cortes how the reverend father was ſcolding and grumbling. Cortes, diſcreet in all his actions, then came to him, and, affecting to diſapprove the whole, requeſted that he would order

a ſolemn maſs and thankſgiving, and preach a ſermon to the ſoldiers on the moral and religious duties. Fra. Bartholome was highly pleaſed at this, thinking it had originated ſpontaneouſly from Cortes, and not knowing that the hint had been given him by Sandoval. Accordingly the crucifixes and the image of our Lady were borne in ſolemn proceſſion, with drums and ſtandards; the litany was ſung during the ceremony, Fra. Bartholome preached and adminiſtered the ſacrament, and we returned thanks to God for our victory.

Cortes now took leave of his allies, the Tlaſcalan chiefs, and alſo of Suchel, otherwiſe Don Carlos, a very brave man, as was another, a captain of ſome city near the lake, the name of which I forget; but he did wonders. Many others who had rendered us moſt important ſervices departed at the ſame time. Cortes diſmiſſed them all to their homes with many embraces, thanks and compliments, promiſing that he would ſoon make them rich, and great lords, and give them lands and vaſſals, ſo that they took their departure in high ſpirits. They had however ſecured ſomething more ſubſtantial than promiſes, for they were well loaden with the plunder of Mexico; nor were they behind the enemy in their cannibal feaſts, carrying with them portions preſerved, to ſupply their friends on their return home.

Now

Now that I am paſt theſe furious combats, through which, praiſed be God, he was pleaſed to conduct me ſafe, I have to mention a certain particularity relative to myſelf, and it is this: When I ſaw the ſacrifice of our ſeventy-two countrymen, and their hearts taken out and offered to the war god of the Mexicans, I had a ſenſation of fear. Some may conſider this as want of firmneſs; but if they weigh it duly, they will find that it was in truth the reſult of too much courage, which cauſed me to run into extreme and uncommon dangers; for in that day I conſidered myſelf a moſt valiant ſoldier, and was ſo eſteemed by all; and was uſed to do that which was attempted by the boldeſt, and I was always under the eye of my captain. As I have before obſerved, when I ſaw my companions ſacrificed, their hearts taken out palpitating, and their legs and arms cut off and eaten, I feared it might one day or other be my own lot, for they had me in their hands twice, but it was God's will that I ſhould eſcape; but I remembered and thought on what I had ſeen, and from this time I feared that cruel death; and this I mention, becauſe before I went into battle I felt a great depreſſion and uneaſineſs about my heart, and then, recommending myſelf to God and his bleſſed mother our Lady, the inſtant I was engaged with the enemy it left me. Still I am ſurpriſed that it came upon me when I ſhould have felt more valiant than ever, on account of the many battles in which I had been engaged. But I declare I never knew what fear was, until I ſaw the maſſacre

of the seventy-two soldiers. Let those cavaliers who have been in desperate battles and mortal dangers now decide what was the cause of my fears.' I say that it was excess of courage; and for this reason; that I knew the greatness of the danger into which I was determined to go, and knowingly and voluntarily encountered it. Many engagements are related in my history besides those I was at; but if my body were of iron, I could not have been at all; and I was much oftener wounded than whole.

I must observe, that the Mexicans did not kill our soldiers, but wounded and carried them off, to sacrifice alive to their gods.

PART

PART THE THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

Tranſactions and Occurrences in New Spain ſubſequent to the Conqueſt.

AFTER the conqueſt, as ſoon as Cortes had leiſure to turn his mind to objects of police and internal regulation, he directed that the aqueducts ſhould be reſtored, and the city cleared of the dead, ſo that within two months it might be inhabited as before. The palaces and houſes he ordered to be repaired, and pointed out that part which was to be inhabited by the natives, and that which was to be reſerved for the Spaniards.

Guatimotzin now applied, in the name of many of his principal nobility, to Cortes, requeſting that he would order ſuch of their women of rank as had been taken by our ſoldiers, to be delivered to their huſbands and fathers. The general found ſome difficulty in this, but agreed to permit them to make ſearch, and ſuch as wiſhed to return, he aſſured them that he would cauſe to be given up. They ſearched through every houſe, and though the women hid themſelves,

themſelves, they found many, but very few were inclined to return; they declared that they deteſted the idolatry of their countrymen; and, in addition, they were many of them pregnant; ſo that of the whole number three only went back to their families.

One of the firſt public works undertaken was an arſenal in the city, ſo ſituated as to include our flotilla. Alvarado was, to the beſt of my knowledge, appointed alcalde, until the arrival of Salazar de la Pedrada. All the gold, ſilver, and jewels, which were now collected in Mexico, amounted to the paltry ſum of three hundred and eighty thouſand crowns. It was reported that Guatimotzin had thrown great quantities into the lake four days before the ſurrender of the town, and it was well known that a conſiderable ſhare had fallen to our allies, and to thoſe who ſerved on board the fleet. Cortes was not ſorry to think Guatimotzin had it concealed, in hopes of obtaining it all for himſelf. It was then propoſed to put both Guatimotzin and his confidential friend the prince of Tacuba to the torture, to extort confeſſion from them; this was certainly very contrary to the inclination and diſpoſition of Cortes, who could not approve of ſuch an act of cruelty being committed on a perſon ſo diſtinguiſhed as Guatimotzin; one who was abſolute monarch of a country three times larger than Caſtille. In anſwer to all inquiries the king's officers proteſted that there was no more than what had been produced, which when melted and run into bars

bars did not exceed three hundred and eighty thouſand crowns. From this the fifth for the Emperor and another for Cortes were deducted; what remained did not at all ſatisfy thoſe of the conquerors of Mexico who were not before friends to Cortes. They ſuggeſted to the treaſurer Alderete that the general objected to Guatimotzin being tortured, in order to get the gold himſelf. Cortes was therefore obliged to leave the unfortunate king at their diſpoſal, as well as the lord of Tacuba. What this inhuman proceſs extorted from them was, a confeſſion that they had, four days previous to the ſurrender, thrown treaſure into the lake, and alſo the muſkets, bows, and other arms, taken from us in our flight, and in the laſt defeat of Cortes. The place which Guatimotzin pointed out was ſearched by the beſt ſwimmers, to no effect whatever. In a deep pond at his palace was found a ſun of ſolid gold, ſimilar to that which Montezuma had given us, with many ornaments of ſmall value, the private property of Guatimotzin. On the torture the prince of Tacuba declared that he had gold at ſome large houſes he poſſeſſed four leagues from the town of Tacuba, and that, if there, he would point out to us where it was buried. Alvarado and ſix ſoldiers, whereof I was one, accompanied him thither; when we arrived he declared he had ſaid ſo in hopes of dying on the road, for that he had no treaſure whatever; ſo we remained without any more gold to melt. The fact is, that the treaſury was diminiſhed to a mere trifle before it came into

to Guatimotzin's hands; and I and many others who ſaw it at firſt knew it appeared to be then worth twice what it was when brought out to have his Majeſty's ſhare deducted. I obſerved many articles of remarkable and curious workmanſhip miſſing at that time; they were taken for the public ſervice.

I and ſeveral good divers ſearched that part of the lake which had been pointed out by Guatimotzin, and we found ſome pieces of gold of little value, which were immediately claimed by Cortes and Alderete. They alſo ſent down perſons, and were themſelves preſent, but all they obtained amounted to leſs than the value of ninety crowns. This made us very penſive and grave, when we found what mere trifles our ſhares, as they were called, came to. For this reaſon Fra. Bartholome, and other cavaliers and captains, repreſented to Cortes that it would be beſt to divide that which fell to the lot of the whole army, among the wounded, the halt, the blind, the deaf, the ſcorched, and the ſick; and that thoſe who had eſcaped ſound would renounce their claims. This they ſaid upon an expectation that it might draw out ſome of the treaſure which they ſuſpected was concealed. Cortes replied that he would inquire, and rectify all. Our captains and ſoldiers were then curious to know what the ſhares came to for each man. On caſting it up, it appeared that to each horſeman there came one hundred crowns, and to each infantry ſoldier I forget how much, but no one would

would accept it. This did not quiet the ſoldiers; they murmured loudly, and accuſed the treaſurer. He to exculpate himſelf ſaid that they ſhould blame Cortes, who had taken out a ſecond fifth for himſelf, and alſo a deduction for loſs of horſes, and had retained from the common ſtock many pieces of wrought gold to ſend to his Majeſty. The ſoldiers of Narvaez, who never liked Cortes thoroughly, would not take their paltry ſhares: and as Cortes now lodged at Cuyoacan, in large buildings with white walls, very well adapted for ſcribbling on, there appeared every morning libels againſt him in proſe or verſe. The idea of one of them was, that as the planets ſometimes went a little out of their courſe, but by the order of nature ſpeedily reverted to it again, ſo it was with Cortes and his ambition. Another ſaid we were more conquered by Cortes, than Mexico by us, and that we were not the victors of New Spain, but the vanquiſhed of Cortes. Some ſaid that he had taken his fifth as general, and a ſecond as king; and others again that Velaſquez had incurred all the expenſe, and Cortes reaped all the profit. I recollect the words of one only: they were,

"Que triſte eſta el alma mea,
"Haſta que la parte vea!*"

Many were written in ſuch a ſtyle as is not fit for me to relate, and ſome had a turn and witty point in them which I am not able to give. Cortes was a poet,

* How anxious I am for a partition of plunder!

poet, and prided himself on giving anſwers in that way to ſuch complimentary addreſſes as he received; he alſo uſed to reply in pointed epigrams to theſe paſquinades, which grew every day more indecent. One day, obſerving the walls covered with them, he wrote, "A white wall is paper for fools." Next morning was found added, "and for truths." At length Fra. Bartholome told Cortes the thing was going too far, and adviſed him to ſtop it, which he did by threats of ſevere puniſhment.

Among the ſoldiers of our army very heavy debts were contracted; a croſs-bow was ſold for fifty crowns, a muſket coſt one hundred, a horſe eight hundred, one thouſand, and even more; and every thing elſe was in proportion. Then our ſurgeon, Maeſtre Juan, charged high, as did a doctor Murcia, who was an apothecary and barber. There were beſides various other money traps, all which were to be ſatisfied out of our dividends. This required ſome regulation: Cortes accordingly appointed Sancta Clara, a very honourable perſon, and one Lerena, to appreciate each claim, which was to be paid according to their award within two years. The value of the gold was alſo altered by increaſing the alloy; this was intended to ſerve us in our dealing with the merchants from Europe or Cuba; but it had a contrary effect, as they were prepared, and added twice as much to the price of their goods. The alloy was copper, called here Tepuzque; for which reaſon we call

call any one of an inferior degree to another of the ſame name, Don Juan, or Don Alonzo Tepuzque, or the copper Don Juan, &c. The abuſes reſulting from this being made known to his Majeſty, he was pleaſed to forbid the currency of this baſe metal, ordering it to be taken in duties until it was all drawn over to Caſtille, and that no more of it ſhould be made. At this time two goldſmiths were hanged here for running baſe metal with the legal mark.

I have digreſſed for ſome time paſt, and will now return to the thread of my narrative. Cortes, as the beſt way to get rid of troubleſome companions and demands, determined now to ſend out colonies, and make ſettlements at convenient ſituations. For this purpoſe Sandoval was ordered to Tuſtepeque, and Guacacualco. Juan Velaſquez was to go to Colima, one Villa Fuerte to Zacatula, Chriſtoval de Oli to Mechoacan, (he was at this time married to a Portugueze lady named Donna Phillipa de Aranja) and Franciſco de Orozca to Guaxaca.

At this time the chiefs of the diſtant provinces could not bring themſelves to believe that Mexico was deſtroyed: they therefore ſent deputations to aſcertain the truth, and alſo to offer themſelves as vaſſals to his Majeſty the emperor. All made great preſents of gold to Cortes, and many came in perſon, and brought their children to ſee the ſtate of that power

once

once ſo feared by them, and uſed to expreſs themſelves as we ſay, "here Troy town ſtood."

Curious readers will be deſirous to know how it happened, that the conquerors of Mexico, who had gone through ſuch dangers to obtain poſſeſſion of that city, ſhould now quit it to ſearch for new ſettlements. To this I reply, that the books which contained the accounts of Montezuma's revenues were examined to find from whence the gold, and other valuable articles of tribute, ſuch as cacao, and cotton manufactures, were ſent; and it was to theſe productive diſtricts that we wiſhed to go. Eſpecially, we were led by the example of Sandoval, who, being known to be the particular friend of Cortes, it was not to be ſuppoſed would go upon an unprofitable enterpriſe. We alſo ſaw that the vicinity of the city of Mexico had neither mines, plantations, nor manufactures, but was entirely occupied by the cultivation of maize and of maguey. This we thought did not afford us proſpects ſufficiently advantageous, and we went to other places, where we were ſadly diſappointed. I waited upon Cortes to requeſt permiſſion to attend Sandoval. "Brother B. Diaz del Caſtillo," ſaid the general to me, "by my conſcience you will find yourſelf miſtaken; you had better ſtay with me; but if you are determined on going with your friend Sandoval, go, in God's name; I will always do my utmoſt to take care of you, but I tell you that you will repent of it." All the gold remained with the Emperor's

Emperor's officers, the ſlaves having been purchaſed by the ſoldiers according to their valuation at a public ſale. The detachments were ſent out to colonize the provinces at different periods, for two months after the capture of Mexico. However, I will not any farther particularize them, to treſpaſs unneceſſarily on my readers' time.

At this time arrived at the port of Villa Rica Chriſtoval de Tapia, veedor of the iſland of St. Domingo, with a commiſſion to take upon him the government of New Spain, by order of his Majeſty, and under the direction of the biſhop of Burgos. He brought with him letters from the ſaid biſhop of Burgos to Cortes and many others of his army, recommending him to be honoured by us as governor of New Spain, and beſides thoſe which were cloſed and ſealed, he had alſo with him letters filled up, and which he was authoriſed to addreſs as he ſaw occaſion for his own intereſt. Great promiſes were held out to ſuch as would come over to the new governor, and violent threats of puniſhment to thoſe who made any oppoſition to him. Tapia firſt preſented his commiſſion to Alvarado, then commandant in Villa Rica. Alvarado received it with the higheſt reſpect, and ſaid that as he was not able of himſelf to decide any thing, it would be neceſſary to aſſemble the alcaldes and regidors of the town, to have the commiſſion verified before them, and alſo to prove the manner in which it had been tranſmitted, that they might know for a certainty

certainty that it came in a proper form from his Majeſty's hand. This did not exactly agree with the view of Tapia. Being adviſed to proceed to Mexico and produce his commiſſion to Cortes himſelf, he forwarded the letter of the biſhop, and alſo wrote to Cortes upon the ſubject of his miſſion. The ſtyle of the letters was ſmooth and perſuaſive, but the anſwer of Cortes was ten times more ſo. Cortes immediately ſent expreſſes to ſome of the different officers he had detached, ordering them to go and meet Tapia, who had already ſet out for Mexico, but was, in conſequence of the direction of Cortes, met on the road by Alvarado, Sandoval, De Soto, Valdenegro, captain Andres de Tapia, and the reverend father Fra. Malgarejo. Theſe gentlemen, with much compliment and ceremony, induced Chriſtoval de Tapia to go to Cempoal; they there requeſted to ſee his commiſſion, which being verified, and acknowledged, they placed it on their heads in token of reſpect and ſubmiſſion; but in regard to the admitting him as governor by the virtue of it, that was quite another affair; it was firſt neceſſary to know what his Majeſty's pleaſure was touching the affairs of New Spain, the true ſtate of which had been concealed from him by the biſhop of Burgos, who did it to ſerve his own private views, and to favour Velaſquez and Tapia, one of whom he intended ſhould marry his niece. By all this it was pretty evident to Tapia, that he would not very ſpeedily enter upon his office, and the diſappointment affected him to that degree that he fell ſick. Our captains

captains wrote to Cortes, letting him know all that had paſſed, and recommending him to ſend a good quantity of golden ingots, and try their effect in mollifying the fury of the would-be governor. Theſe arrived by the return of the expreſs, and with them they bought from him ſome negroes, three horſes, and one of his ſhips; in the other Tapia embarked himſelf, and ſet ſail for the iſland of St. Domingo, where he was very ill received by the court of royal audience and the brothers of the order of Jeronymites, he having undertaken the buſineſs contrary to their expreſs command; but they would not exert their power farther againſt one prtroniſed by the biſhop of Burgos, his Majeſty being at that time in Flanders.

I have formerly made mention of ſome particulars relative to an expedition ſet on foot by one Garay. It was to coloniſe and ſettle upon the river of Panuco. Cortes had received intelligence of it, and reſolved to anticipate him by ſending thither a party for the ſame purpoſe. He alſo now again ſent Rangel to Villa Rica as commandant, and ordered Narvaez to be ſent to him at Cuyoacan, where he reſided until the palace which he was to inhabit in Mexico was completed. The reaſon he ſent for Narvaez was this; he was told that the latter had held a converſation with Tapia, in which he adviſed him to quit the country on as good terms as he could get, and go to his patron the biſhop of Burgos in Caſtille,

to

to lay the whole ſtate of affairs before him; telling him alſo to profit by the example which his misfortunes ſet him, as, if he ſtaid, he certainly would be put to death, and that ſucceſs attended all the meaſures of Cortes. When Narvaez was brought before Cortes, he fell on his knees and attempted to kiſs his hand, but our general would not permit it; he raiſed, and embracing Narvaez, treated him with all reſpect and regard, and made him ſit by his ſide.

Cortes now proceeded to take his reſidence in the city of Mexico. He divided the ground into lots for the churches in the firſt place, then for the monaſteries, the public buildings, and ſquares. He divided the reſt of the ground among the inhabitants that were to be; and, not waſte more time upon the ſubject, all thoſe who have ſeen the preſent city of Mexico agree that there is not in Chriſtendom one more populous, larger, or better built.

While Cortes was thus employed, intelligence arrived that the province of Panuco was in arms. They are a warlike people, very numerous, and, having rebelled, had killed many ſoldiers of the party which Cortes had ſent to form a colony there. He reſolved therefore to go thither in perſon: indeed all his captains were now abſent on different duties. Our numbers had by this time received a conſiderable reinforcement, as well of thoſe who had come with the veador Tapia, as of ſuch as been on the expedition to

Florida

Florida with Vasquez de Aillon, and of many others lately arrived from the islands. He left a good garrison in Mexico under Diego de Soto, and set out on his march with one hundred and thirty cavalry, two hundred and fifty infantry, and ten thousand Mexicans. Just at this time De Oli returned from Mechoacan, which he had reduced to a state of submission and peace, bringing with him the principal chief and several others, and a quantity of gold. This expedition to Panuco was very expensive; Cortes applied for a reimbursement from the crown, which could not be acceded to; his Majesty's officers objected that it was undertaken on a private account, to prevent the establishment of a colony by Garay, and not for the public service. When he arrived at Panuco he found the people very rebellious. In the course of a few days he had two battles, in which he lost three soldiers, four horses, and above one hundred Mexicans. The number of the enemy amounted to above seventy thousand warriors, but it was God's will that we should obtain the victory, with such a slaughter of the rebels as deprived them of all thoughts of making any head for the present. These people are called the Guastecas, and Naguatecas. After the last battle Cortes again sent to summon them to submission. He employed for this purpose some of the prisoners, and sent with them Fra. Bartholome, by whose exhortations they were induced to submit.

Cortes

Cortes then went with one half of his troops to the river Chila, to reduce the Indians on the oppoſite ſide. He ſummoned them, but they murdered his meſſengers. He then paſſed over with one hundred and fifty infantry, and fifty cavalry, during the night. The enemy on their landing fell on them in great numbers, but they were ſoon driven from the field, and our troops advancing took their quarters in a town where they found plenty of proviſions. In the morning ſome of them entering the temple found remains of the bodies and clothes of our contrymen; ſome of our ſoldiers thought they recogniſed the features of their friends, and it was a melancholy ſight to all; their remains we carefully collected and buried.

From this place our detachment marched to another, where an out party reported, that great bodies of the enemy were poſted in concealment in the houſes, to fall upon our people when the cavalry had diſmounted; their plan being diſcovered failed of ſucceſs, but they fought valiantly for half an hour, and three of our ſoldiers died afterwards of their wounds. Theſe people, contrary to the general practice of Indians, rallied no leſs than three times. On the enſuing day our ſoldiers ſcoured the neighbourhood, and, entering ſome towns which had been abandoned, found a quantity of earthen veſſels, full of the wine of the country, in cellars under ground. After a ſtay of five days they returned to the river of Chila.

Cortes

Cortes now again ſummoned them, to which they returned for anſwer that they would come within four days; which Cortes waited out, but to no effect. He therefore determined to puniſh them, and during a dark and rainy night, embarking a large body of Mexicans, he ſent them acroſs a lake to one of the enemy's largeſt towns, which they totally deſtroyed. This brought in moſt of that country to ſubmit. Cortes founded a town of one hundred and thirty houſes, ſixty-three of the inhabitants whereof were ſoldiers. He named it Villa de St. Eſtevan del Puerto. It is ſituated about a league from Chila. He allotted to it all the neighbouring diſtricts which had ſubmitted, and gave the command to Pedro Valego. Cortes was informed that three diſtricts which had been concerned in the murder of many Spaniards, but which had been now received under allegiance, intended to fall on this poſt as ſoon as he quitted the country. He in conſequence marched againſt them and deſtroyed their towns, but they ſoon eſtabliſhed them again.

A veſſel which Cortes had ordered to come to him with proviſions and neceſſaries was at this time loſt in ſome ſtrong gales from the north, whereby the new ſettlement was much diſtreſſed.

Cortes on his return to Mexico was informed of depredations committed on the peaceable diſtricts, by ſome of the inhabitants of the neighbouring

mountains, whom he determined to chaſtiſe in his way, but they anticipated him, by falling upon his rear and robbing the baggage in a bad paſs; our allies the Mexicans made them pay well for this inſult, and two of their chiefs were hanged. Cortes then ordered hoſtilities to ceaſe, and the people, on being ſummoned, came in and ſubmitted. In the place of the chief, who was executed, Cortes appointed his brother, after which he proceeded to Mexico. In all the provinces of New Spain none was ſo bad, for ſavage and evil manners, as that of Panuco. They made human ſacrifices, and were cruel to an exceſs, drunkards, filthy, and wicked, with thirty other turpitudes. They were puniſhed with fire and ſword two or three times, and greater misfortunes befel them when Nuno de Guzman came to be their governor, for he made them all ſlaves, and ſold them in the iſlands.

Alonzo de Avila, whom I have formerly mentioned, was now returned with powers from the court of royal audience and the brothers of the order of St. Jeronymo, whereby we were authoriſed to purſue our conqueſts, to mark ſlaves, and to make ſettlements according to the practice in the iſlands of Hiſpaniola and Cuba. They alſo ſent a report of what ſteps they had taken, to Caſtille. His Majeſty was then in Flanders, where it was laid before him. Had De Avila been here at the time of Tapia's arrival he might have been very troubleſome, for he was

was an adherent of the biſhop of Burgos, and had been bred up in his houſe. For theſe reaſons, and by the advice of Almedo, Cortes to put him in good humour gave him the diſtrict of Guatitlan, one of the richeſt in that country. He alſo preſented him with a conſiderable quantity of gold, and a much greater of kind words and promiſes, by which he won him ſo completely over to his intereſt that he afterwards ſent him as his agent to Caſtille; at which time ſeveral gigantic human bones were tranſmitted, together with a quantity of gold, pearls, and valuable jewels. The bones were found in a temple at Cuyoacan; they were prodigiouſly large, and ſimilar to thoſe which we had procured in Tlaſcala and ſent to Caſtille. The agents alſo brought over with them three tigers, and many other things of a curious nature, which I do not recollect. One part of their buſineſs was to tranſmit memorials to his Majeſty from the council of Mexico, and from us the conquerors of New Spain, requeſting that he would ſend us over holy men, of good life and example, as biſhops and clergymen. Alſo praying, that, in conſideration of our meritorious ſervices, all offices of honour and emolument ſhould be given amongſt us, and the government to Cortes, as the only fit and proper perſon. Alſo that his Majeſty would be pleaſed not to ſuffer any ſcholars, or men of letters, to come into this country, to throw us into confuſion with their learning, quibbles, and books. We further repreſented the inſufficiency of Chriſtoval de Tapia, who was only

ly ſent by the biſhop of Burgos to effect a marriage between the ſaid Tapia and the biſhop's niece, Donna Petronila de Fonſeca. We alſo deprecated the interference of the biſhop in the affairs of this country, as being obſtructive of our plans of conqueſts for his Majeſty's ſervice, adding that we were ready to receive his Majeſty's commands, proſtrate on the ground, but had thought it our duty to inform him of theſe particulars, which had been artfully kept from his knowledge. All this, and more, was repreſented in the fulleſt light, for his Majeſty's information, and to do away the miſrepreſentations of the ſaid biſhop of Burgos, whoſe enmity was manifeſt in his having prohibited the Caſa de Contractation of Seville from ſending us any ſupplies. Cortes alſo left nothing in his inkſtand which could be of ſervice to our intereſts, for he wrote a memorial of twenty one pages, which I read, and certify to be to the full tenor and effect of what I have related. He alſo farther petitioned, that his Majeſty would permit him to go to the iſland of Cuba to apprehend Velaſquez, the governor thereof, and ſend him as a priſoner to Caſtille, for the injuries done by him to the general ſervice, more eſpecially in ſending an order to put Cortes to death.

Our agents ſailed from the port of Vera Cruz, on the twentieth of December, one thouſand five hundred and twenty two, without any particular occurrence on the voyage to the Terceras, except the breaking

ing looſe of two tygers, who wounded ſome ſailors, and their being obliged to kill the other on account of his ferocity. At the iſland of Tercera captain Anthonio de Quinones loſt his life. He was very amorous, and in a quarrel concerning a lady there, as he piqued himſelf upon his valour, a duel enſued, in which he received a ſword wound on the head, and died in three days. Thus the buſineſs remained in the hands of Alonzo de Avila only. As he purſued his voyage to Europe, he fell in with a French privateer, commanded by Juan Florin, who made prize of him, his ſhip, and all the treaſure. This captain took another ſhip from St. Domingo, with a valuable cargo of ſugar, and hides, as alſo twenty thouſand crowns of gold, and a quantity of pearls, ſo that he returned to France very rich, and made great preſents to the king, and alſo to the admiral of France, the people whereof were aſtoniſhed at the magnificence of what we ſent to our great Emperor. The king of France ſaid that the wealth we ſupplied was ſufficient alone to enable our monarch to wage war againſt him, and yet Peru was not at this time known. It is alſo reported that the king ſent to our Emperor, to ſay, that he and the king of Portugal had divided the world between them, without giving him a ſhare, and that he deſired to ſee the will of our father Adam, to know if he had made them excluſively his heirs. Florin in his next expedition fell in with a ſtrong Biſcayan ſquadron, by which he was defeated and made priſoner, and, being tranſmitted

ted to Spain, he was hanged at the iſland of Teneriffe. Thus was an end of him, his ſhips, and our treaſure.

Avila was confined a cloſe priſoner in France, but he ſucceeded in gaining the friendſhip of the officer in whoſe cuſtody he was, and obtained means of communicating with his friends in Spain, to whom he tranſmitted all the papers and documents with which he had been entruſted, and which were laid before his Majeſty by the means of the licentiate Nunez, couſin to Cortes, and relator of the royal council, Martin Cortes his father, and Diego de Ordas. The Emperor was pleaſed, on due conſideration, to order, that all favour ſhould be ſhewn to Cortes, and that farther proceedings ſhould be ſuſpended until his Majeſty's return to Spain.

The intelligence of the loſs of the treaſure was received by us as a moſt ſerious diſappointment. The diſtrict of Guatitlan was honourably reſerved by Cortes for Avila, notwithſtanding his captivity, and his brother ſucceeded to it three years after, Alonzo de Avila being then appointed contador of Yucatan.

The two captains, Sandoval and Alvarado, after the ſettlement with Tapia, returned to their detachments, and proceeded on their expeditions, of which I will now give an account.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

Expeditions of G. de Sandoval and P. de Alvarado.

WHEN our party (for I went with Sandoval) arrived at Tuſtepeque, I took up my lodgings in the ſummit of a tower in a very high temple, partly for the freſh air, and to avoid the muſquitoes, which were very troubleſome below, and partly to be near Sandoval's quarters. It was here that ſeventy-two ſoldiers of thoſe who came with Narvaez, and ſix Caſtillian women, had been put to death. The whole province on our arrival came in and ſubmitted, except the Mexican chief, who had been the cauſe of the deaths of our ſoldiers. Him Sandoval got arreſted, and he was ſhortly after executed, being burned alive. There were many more as guilty, but this example was judged ſufficient. After this was done, a meſſage was ſent to the Zapotecan mountaineers to come in and ſubmit. Their country is about ten leagues diſtant from Tuſtepeque. On their refuſal, an expedition was ordered againſt them, under the command of a captain Briones, who, according to his own account, had been a great officer in Italy. He marched with one hundred infantry and about the ſame number of Indian allies; the enemy were prepared for him, and laid a plan for a ſurpriſe, which they effected ſo completely that they drove our party over the rocks, rolling down to the bottom, and above

above a third of them were wounded, one of whom afterwards died. The diſtrict is ſo very difficult of acceſs, that troops can only paſs in ſingle file, and the climate is very miſty and humid. The natives are armed with large lances with an ell of blade, with two edges of ſtone as ſharp as a razor, and pliable ſhields which cover the whole body. They are very nimble, and give their ſignals by whiſtlings, which echo among the rocks with inconceivable ſhrillneſs. This diſtrict is called Tiltepeque. After it had been brought to ſubmiſſion, the government of it was aſſigned to a ſoldier named Ojeda, who now lives in St. Ildefonſo. Sandoval, who was a good humoured man, began to joke with Briones, at his return, upon the bad ſucceſs of his expedition, aſking him if ever he had ſeen the like in Italy; for Briones was always giving accounts how he had ſevered men in two, and cut their heads off, &c. He was not pleaſed with Sandoval's jocularity, and ſwore he had rather fight the Turks and Moors, than the Zapotecans. This expedition was of little uſe, but on the contrary injurious. There was another diſtrict of the Zapotecans, called Xaltepeque, the people of which were at war with their neighbours, and immediately on being ſummoned waited on Sandoval with handſome preſents, and a conſiderable quantity of gold, partly formed into toys, and the reſt in ten little tubes; their chiefs wore very long robes of cotton, reaching to the feet, richly embroidered, and reſembling the upper robes of the Moors. They applied to him for ſome of his ſoldiers

to

to assist them against their enemies named the Minxes. This the state of his force did not permit him to comply with, but he promised to transmit an application to Mexico for a reinforcement for them, and in the interval would send some of his men to see the country and the nature of the passes; but his real object was to examine their mines. Thus he dismissed them all except three, sending eight of us upon the business I have mentioned.

There were two of the same name in this party, for we had three Castillos in our army. I, who at that time prided myself upon my dress, was named Castillo "the gallant." My namesake who went on this expedition was a man of very slow speech, not replying to a question for a length of time, and then he came out with some absurdity; he was named Castillo "the thoughtful." The other, who was very smart and ready in all he said, was called Castillo "the prompt." But to have done with our witticisms, and proceed with my narrative. On our arrival, the Indians turned over the earth in three different rivers, and in each they found gold, filling four tubes of the size of the middle finger with it, and with these we returned. Sandoval thought that all our fortunes were now made; he took a district to himself, from which he immediately procured fifteen thousand crowns. To captain Luis Marin he gave Xaltepeque, from whence we had obtained the gold. This turned out however very indifferently. He gave me a very

profitable diſtrict there. Would to God I had kept it! it conſiſted of three places, named Matallan, Ozotequipa, and Oriaca, where is now the ingenio of the viceroy: but I thought it more conſiſtent with my character to go with Sandoval upon his expeditions. Sandoval called his town Medellin, after the birth place of Cortes. The river De las Vanderas, from which the fifteen thouſand crowns were procured, is the port, and it was here that the merchandiſe from Caſtille was diſcharged until Vera Cruz became the emporium.

We now proceeded on our route for Guacacualco. The province of Citla through which we paſſed has the moſt pleaſant climate, and the greateſt plenty of proviſions, of any we had ſeen in this continent; its extent is above twelve leagues, in length and breadth, and it is very populous. The chiefs immediately ſubmitted. On our arrival at the river of Guacacualco, thoſe of that diſtrict, which is the head one of all the neighbouring people, on being ſummoned did not appear, which we conſidered as a declaration of hoſtilty, and ſuch in fact was their firſt determination; but after five days had paſſed they waited on Sandoval with a preſent of ſome trinkets of fine gold. By his directions they collected one hundred canoes, in which our troops croſſed the river, after we had firſt ſent four ſoldiers to obſerve and report the ſtate of the people. The town which we founded here we called Del Eſpiritu Santo, which ſublime name was given to it becauſe it.

it was on that day we defeated Narvaez; it was alſo our word in the battle, and it was on the ſame day that we croſſed this river. Here the flower of our army was eſtabliſhed, and it is certain that when we went out to the ſquare upon a feſtival or review, we muſtered eighty cavalry; a greater number in proportion than five hundred now, horſes were then ſo ſcarce and dear. Sandoval, having examined and conſidered the ſituation of the neighbouring diſtricts, made repartitions of them as moſt convenient to the different ſettlements. The diſtricts he allotted to his of Guacacualco were Guazpaltepeque, Tepeca, Chinanta, the Zapotecas, Copilco, Cimatan, Tabaſco, Cachula, the Zoques, Techeapa, Cinacatan, the Quilenes and Papanahauſta. We had much trouble afterwards on account of litigation with Vera Cruz concerning three of them, Guazpaltepeque, Chinanta and Tepeca; with the town of Tabaſco concerning two others, Cimatan and Copilco; alſo with Chiapa concerning two, the Quilenes and Zoques; and with St. Ildefonſo about the Zapotecas. I was very ſorry I fixed myſelf here; the lands were very poor, and it turned out altogether to my diſadvantage. Still we ſhould have done very well had we been left as we were at firſt; but when the new ſettlements were formed our poſſeſſions were clipped to accomodate them; whereby our colony fell to decay, from being the beſt, and containing the greateſt number of the generous conquerors of Mexico; but it is at preſent a place of very few inhabitants.

Sandoval

Sandoval now received intelligence of the arrival of Donna Catalina, lady of our general Hernando Cortes, and her brother, at the river of Aguayalco. La Zambrana alſo and her family arrived with them, and Elvira Lopez "the tall," married to Juan de Palma, who was afterwards hanged. We all ſet out to pay our reſpects to theſe ladies, and I recollect the roads were almoſt impaſſable, from the conſtant and heavy rains. Donna Catalina and the reſt were eſcorted by us to our town of Guacacualco, and we ſent word to Cortes of their arrival. After a ſhort ſtay with us they ſet out for Mexico. Cortes was very ſorry for their coming, but he put the beſt face upon it, and received them with great pomp and rejoicings. In about three months after the arrival of Donna Catalina, we heard of her having died of an aſthma.

Villafuerte, who had been ſent to Zacatula, and Alvarez Chico, who had alſo gone to Colima, were unſucceſsful in their endeavours to bring thoſe provinces into ſubmiſſion. Cortes then ſent a party thither, commanded by Chriſtoval de Oli. The natives attacked him on his march, killing two of his ſoldiers; but he reached the ſtation of Villafuerte, who was afraid to ſtir out of it, and the enemy had even killed four of his men in the town. De Oli, however, before he departed, reduced both theſe diſtricts to ſubmiſſion. I do not know what became of captain Juan Alvarez, but I believe he was killed in ſome of the actions with the natives at this time. De Oli returned

ed to Mexico, but had hardly got there when intelligence arrived of three provinces being again in rebellion. Sandoval had at this time arrived at Mexico with the ladies. Cortes sent him with a small party of our veterans to take these districts into his hands, which he did, and punished and regulated them in such a manner, that we heard no more of their being refractory.

Several of the districts subject to Guacacualco rebelled on the departure of Sandoval, killing the Spaniards employed in the management of the tribute: amongst others were the Xaltepeque Zapotecas, Cimatan, and Copilco; the first of which is difficult of access on account of its mountains, the two others on account of lakes and marshes, and they were not brought to subjection but with the greatest difficulty.

At this time, and while captain Luis Marin was employed in subjugating these districts, arrived at our settlement, in a small vessel which came up to the town, Juan Buono the Biscayan. He immediately summoned us all to a meeting, where, after some compliments on both sides, he opened his business to us, which was, to induce us to accept, as governor, Christoval de Tapia, of whose return to St. Domingo Buono was ignorant. Large offers were made by the bishop of Burgos in unaddressed letters, which Buono had a discretionary power of directing to such as would support his views. These he accordingly sent to such as he found to hold offices. I was offered a regidor's place.

place. When Buono heard that Tapia was no longer in the country, he was very much disappointed. We referred him to Cortes at Mexico, whither he went. I do not know what passed between them, but I believe Cortes sent him back to Castille with some money in his pocket.

Amongst others who courted the alliance of the Spaniards after the conquest of Mexico, were the people called the Tutepeque Zapotecans. They applied very earnestly for our assistance against a nation which was in hostility to them, named likewise the Tutepeques, whom they represented as possessing a very rich country. Accordingly, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-two, Alvarado, by the order of Cortes, marched from Mexico with one hundred and eighty soldiers, infantry and cavalry, with an order to take twenty more in his march to the province of Guaxaca, and also to visit certain rocky districts said to be in rebellion. He was forty days upon his route from Mexico to Tutepeque. On his arrival he was hospitably received, and lodged in the most populous part of the city, where the houses joined, and were roofed with straw, it not being the custom of that country to have terraces on their housetops, as the climate is very sultry. By the advice of Olmedo it was determined that our troops should remove to a more open part of the town, lest, in case of any treachery on the part of the people, their quarters should be set fire to. When they were fixed, the chief of the

town

town brought them proviſions, and every day ſome rich preſent of gold. Alvarado deſired a pair of ſtirrups of this metal, which was done according to the pattern. In a few days after, the chief was made priſoner, on an information from the Indians of Teguantepeque, who were in hoſtility to theſe, of his intention to burn the Spaniards in the quarters which they had firſt aſſigned to them in the temples. Some of the Spaniards ſay it was to extort gold from him: however it was, he died in priſon, after Alvarado had got from him to the value of thirty thouſand crowns. Apparently his death was owing to vexation, though Fra. Bartholome did what he could to conſole and encourage him. His ſon was permitted to ſucceed him in the chieftaincy. Alvarado obtained from him more than he had got from the father, and then proceeded to eſtabliſh a colony, which he named Segura, as the coloniſts were moſtly from Tepeaca, named by us Segura de la Frontera.

Alvarado then ſet out on his return, with all his wealth; for Cortes had written to him to collect what he could, to ſend to Caſtille. The ſoldiers being thus excluded from any ſhare, ſome of them formed a conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate Alvarado and his brothers. They were principally muſketeers and croſs-bow-men. A ſoldier of the name of Tribejo gave information to Fra. Bartholome, a few hours before it was to be attempted. The reverend father having called Alvarado aſide, and informed him of what he had heard,

heard, at the hour of vesperſ, when the latter was riding out in company with ſeveral of the conſpirators, and paſſing by ſome houſes, he ſaid to them, "Gentlemen, I am ſuddenly taken ill with a pain in my ſide; let us return and call a barber to bleed me." On his arrival he immediately ſent for his brothers George and Gonzalo, together with the alcaldes and alguazils. He then ordered them to arreſt the aſſaſſins, two of whom were hanged: one was named Salamanca; he had been a pilot. The other was called Barnardino Levantiſco. They both died like good chriſtians, the reverend father taking great pains to bring them to a due ſenſe of their ſituation.

Alvarado now returned to Mexico, leaving a colony in this place; but when the coloniſts found that the gold had been drawn away, that the climate was hot and unhealthy, and infeſted with muſquitos, bugs and other vermin, and that they and their ſlaves were dying faſt, they determined to abandon it, ſome going to Mexico, and ſome to other places. Cortes, on hearing of the ſettlement being thus renounced, cauſed an inquiry to be ſet on foot, and found that it had been determined by the alcaldes and regidors in council, for which he condemned them to ſuffer death, which was afterwards mitigated at the interceſſion of Olmedo, to baniſhment. Thus fell to the ground the colony of Segura or Tutepeque, a very fertile country, but unhealthy. The cruelty and extortion of Alvarado alienated the minds of the people, and they threw

off

of their allegiance; but that officer, returning thither, brought them again to ſubmiſſion, and they afterwards continued peaceable.

CHAPTER III.

Armament of Franciſco de Garay.

I HAVE already made mention of F. de Garay, who was governor of the iſland of Jamaica. When he heard of the riches that had been acquired here by Diego Velaſquez, and of the fertile countries which had been diſcovered, ſtimulated by his avarice, and encouraged by the reflection on his wealth and means, Garay was induced to try his fortune.

Having therefore ſent for, and diſcourſed with, Alaminos, our principal pilot, upon the ſubject, his account was ſo favourable, that he determined on ſending a confidential perſon, one Juan de Torralva, to obtain from the biſhop of Burgos the government of the country about the river Panuco. His application having been ſucceſsful, he ſent an armament of three ſhips, with two hundred and forty ſoldiers, under the command of Alonzo Alvarez Pinedo or Pineda,

da, which was defeated by the Indians of Panuco, one ſhip only eſcaping, and joining us at Villa Rica.

Garay, receiving no intelligence of his firſt armament, ſent a ſecond, which alſo arrived at our port; and, having now expended much treaſure, and learning the good fortune of Cortes, he was more than ever ſtimulated to make exertions. He therefore fitted out a fleet of thirteen ſhips, and embarked one hundred and thirty-ſix cavalry, and eight hundred and forty foot ſoldiers, moſtly muſketeers and croſs-bowmen. The fleet under his command ſailed from Jamaica in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-three, on the day of St. John, and arrived without any particular occurrence at a port called Xagua, in the iſland of Cuba. On his arrival here, he learned the news of Cortes having brought the province of Panuco under ſubjection, and that he had ſent a petition to his Majeſty to be appointed to the government of it. He was alſo told of the heroic actions of Cortes and his companions in arms, and of our having defeated Narvaez with only two hundred and ſeventy ſoldiers. He was therefore ſtruck with awe at the power of our chief, and the more ſo when he was viſited by the licentiate Zuazo. One day, diſcourſing with this gentleman on the fortunes of Cortes, he expreſſed his apprehenſions of a difference between them relative to the government of Panuco, and requeſted that Zuazo would mediate with Cortes in his favour, to which the other aſſented.

Shortly

Shortly after this, Garay with his armament ſet out, and being forced by a ſtorm into the river Palmas, he there diſembarked and marched for Panuco. Knowing alſo that Cortes had made an eſtabliſhment there, he thought it neceſſary to take an oath of fidelity from thoſe under his command, and he nominated the officers requiſite for the eſtabliſhment of his colony, which he meant to name the city of Garayana.

Having advanced for two days' march along the ſea ſhore, through an uninhabited and marſhy country, he with his troops arrived at ſome villages, whoſe inhabitants received and entertained them hoſpitably; but many of the ſoldiers, ſtaying behind, robbed and injured the people. Garay continued his march, and at length arrived at Panuco, which the troops had painted to themſelves as the end of their labours, but were ſadly undeceived by finding it almoſt a deſert, for the war of Cortes had waſted it, or what remained was concealed on the approach of the Spaniards, who found nothing but bare walls, where they were to ſuſtain the attack of flies, and vermin of every deſcription. One misfortune following another, he could get no intelligence from his fleet, but learned by a Spaniard, who, having committed ſome crime, was a fugitive among the Indians, that it had not arrived at the port. The ſame perſon gave a very unfavourable account of the country of Panuco, enhancing that of Mexico, and this making a ſtrong impreſſion on the minds of Garay's ſoldiers, they

they began to diſband, and went towards Mexico, robbing the natives in their way.

All theſe things combined reduced Garay to a bad ſituation, and he ſent one of his officers, named Diego de Ocampo, to ſound the diſpoſition of the governor under Cortes in the colony of Santiſtevan, to whom he notified the appointment he had obtained from his Majeſty, This officer anſwered Garay's meſſage politely, and returned a favourable anſwer as to their reception, requeſting that the ſoldiers might not outrage the inhabitants; Pedro de Vallejo, for that was his name, at the ſame time ſent an expreſs to Cortes with Garay's letter, and ſolicited a ſtrong reinforcement, or the preſence of Cortes himſelf.

On the receipt of the intelligence from Vallejo, Cortes diſpatched Fra. Bartholome, Alvarado, Sandoval, and Gonzalo de Ocampo, brother to the perſon of that name who was with Garay, and entruſted to them the inſtructions he had received, whereby his Majeſty's pleaſure was ſignified, that all his conqueſts ſhould be left under his command, until the matters in diſpute between him and Velaſquez ſhould be brought judically to an iſſue.

I will now return to my relation of the ſteps taken by Garay, who advanced with his force into the neighbourhood of St. Eſtevan del Puerto. On receiving

ing intelligence thereof, Vallejo concerted a plan with the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and being guided by five deſerters, who told him that Garay's troops were ſcattered negligently in a large town called Nacoplan, he came upon them by ſurpriſe, and made forty of them priſoners, aſſigning as a reaſon, their coming without producing any commiſſion, and the outrages which they committed on the inhabitants. This being reported to Garay, he demanded the priſoners, threatening Vallejo with the vengeance of government. Vallejo replied, that when he ſaw his Majeſty's orders he would obey them with all humility, and requeſted that they ſhould be ſent to him. At this moment the perſons deputed by Cortes arrived, and Diego de Ocampo, being at that time firſt alcalde under Cortes in Mexico, began to remoſtrate againſt the entrance of Garay's force into that country, and ſeveral days were paſſed in remonſtrances and replies. During this time numbers of Garay's ſoldiers deſerted from him; thus he ſaw every day his force diminiſhing, and that of Cortes increaſing. From his fleet he had intelligence, that two of his ſhips had been loſt in a tempeſt, and that the remainder, which were at the mouth of the river, had received and rejected a friendly invitation from Vallejo to remove higher up to a place of ſecurity, threatening, at the ſame time, that in caſe of refuſal he would conſider them as pirates.

Vallejo

Vallejo continued ſecretly to negotiate with the officers of the fleet, and, having ſucceeded with two of them, they went to the ſhip of the commodore, Juan de Grijalva, and informed him that he ſhould either bring his veſſel into the river, or quit the place entirely. To this Grijalva only anſwered by diſcharging his artillery; but on the receipt of certain letters from Alvarado and Fra. Bartholome, accompanied with promiſes conveyed by a royal notary, he was at laſt induced to accede to the firſt propoſition. No ſooner had he brought his ſhip into port than Vallejo declared all on board priſoners to his general, Cortes; he was perſuaded however by Fra. Bartholome to give them their liberty, from motives of humanity, which as he ſaid was the method of acting moſt agreeable to God and to Cæſar.

The unfortunate Garay entreated the officers of Cortes to reſtore his ſhips, and to compel his troops to return to him, promiſing to give up his intended eſtabliſhment, and make the beſt of his way to the river Palmas. This propoſal was acceded to, and every meaſure taken to deliver up to him his deſerters, though with little effect; for the ſoldiers deſpiſed Garay, and, as to the oath of ſervice, they ſaid that they had complied with it in coming to Panuco. Garay was then in the utmoſt deſpair, and finally agreed to adopt the meaſure adviſed by the officers of Cortes, in writing to that general, ſtating his ſituation, and praying his protection in conſideration of their

their former intimacy. This requeſt was acceded to by Cortes, who ſent an invitation to him to come to Mexico. Garay ſet out upon his journey, and, when he approached the city of Mexico, he was met by Cortes, at the head of a number of Spaniſh gentlemen on horſeback, who conducted him to his newly built palace, and, having heard the details of his diſtreſſes, he promiſed him redreſs, and referred the affair to Fra. Bartholome, Alvarado and Sandoval. Fra. Bartholome, to bind Cortes and Garay in ſtronger ties of friendſhip, propoſed an alliance between the daughter of Cortes, named Donna Catalina Cortes or Pizarro, and the eldeſt ſon of Garay, who then held a command in his fleet. Cortes, accepting the propoſal, gave his daughter a liberal fortune, adding an aſſent to Garay's colonizing on the river of Palmas, and a promiſe to ſupport the undertaking.

Garay was now induced to intercede with the general, and obtained permiſſion for Narvaez to viſit the iſland of Cuba; for which favour Narvaez was very thankful, and took his leave of Cortes with many profeſſions of gratitude and ſervice. As to Garay and his expedition, both one and the other approached their end, for he, attending Cortes to early matins, and having walked about the church, and eaten his breakfaſt, was ſuddenly ſeized with a pleuriſy, which after a courſe of bleeding and purging was declared mortal. This was announced to him by Fra. Bartholome, who accompanied the fatal news with earneſt exhortations

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to him to advert to the ſtate of his ſoul, and not loſe that in the next world; as he had already thrown away his fortune in this. Garay was impreſſed by the arguments of the good father, and having confeſſed, and had the rites of the church adminiſtered, he made his will, leaving Cortes and Fra. Bartholome his executors, and in four days from the time he was firſt ſeized he gave up the ghoſt. This we obſerve peculiarly to belong to the climate of theſe countries, that in four days pleuriſies are fatal; of which we had many inſtances amongſt our ſoldiers, both in Tezcuco and in Cuyoacan. However, Garay being now dead, God pardon him his ſins! Amen. He received an honourable funeral, and Cortes and the other officers put themſelves into mourning. Thus died Garay in a diſtant country, a ſtrange houſe, and far from his wife and children. As to his armament, being now left without any head, a competition aroſe for the command, between Juan de Grijalva, Gonzalo de Figueroa, Alonzo de Mendoza, Lorenzo de Alloa, Juan de Medina, Juan de Villa, Anthonio de la Cerda, and a certain Tobarda, the moſt ſeditious fellow in the whole army. The young Garay however was ultimately made general, contrary to the inclination of every ſoldier; the conſequence of which was, that they ſeparated in ſmall bodies of fifteen or twenty, and went through the country, pillaging as if they had been amongſt Moors. This enraging the Indians, they laid a plot to cut all the Spaniards off, which they ſo effectually executed, that in a few days they had

had ſacrificed and eaten more than five hundred of Garay's ſoldiers. In ſome towns upwards of a hundred Spaniards were ſacrificed together. In other places they fell on and maſſacred theſe wanderers without reſiſtance; and, encouraged thereby, they roſe againſt the ſettlement of St. Eſtevan in ſuch numbers, that it was with great difficulty they could be kept out of it, nor would they have been, but for ſeven or eight of the veterans of Cortes, who ſupported Vallejo, a brave man, and experienced officer. Theſe gallant veterans induced many of Garay's Spaniards to abide by them in the open field, being obliged to fight three battles, in one of which Vallejo was killed, and many were wounded. So deſperate did the Indians grow, that one night they killed and burned forty Spaniards and fifteen horſes, and among the ſoldiers who were killed were ſeveral of thoſe of Cortes.

When the general heard of theſe outrages he was exceedingly diſpleaſed, and determined to go in perſon to ſuppreſs them; but being at that moment prevented, having broken his arm by accident, he diſpatched Gonzalo de Sandoval, with one hundred infantry, fifty cavalry, two pieces of artillery, and fifteen arcabuſiers, to whom he joined eight thouſand Mexicans and Tlaſcalans, with orders not to quit thoſe diſtricts until he had ſo completely ſubjugated them, as that it ſhould not be in their power again to make diſturbance. Sandoval was a man who did not ſleep

at night when on any buſineſs of importance; of courſe he made no delay upon his route towards the enemy, who expected him in two narrow defiles, where they had concentrated the whole force of the refractory provinces. Sandoval, on learning this, divided his force into two bodies, and attacked each of theſe poſts. The Indians reſiſted with their darts and arrows, whereby many of our ſoldiers were wounded, inſomuch that he was obliged to halt the body which he commanded in that bad poſition, and ſend orders to his other detachment to do the ſame for that night. The Indians retaining their firſt poſition, Sandoval recalled his detachment, and began his retreat towards Mexico. When the enemy perceived this, they thought themſelves conquerors, and began to follow and ſurround the Spaniards from all parts, ſhouting at, and reviling them. This Sandoval ſeemed not to regard, but continued his retreat; by which having completely deceived them, he made a ſudden countermarch at midnight, to gain the paſſes. This he effected, but not without the loſs of three of his horſes, and conſiderable danger to his whole army, many of whom were wounded. No ſooner were his two columns clear of the defiles, than he perceived in front vaſt bodies of Indians, who had arrived there that very night, on hearing that he had countermarched. He therefore again brought his whole force into one body, and perceiving the deſperation with which the Indians fought, and that they had actually wreſted

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the lances out of the hands of ſix of his ſoldiers, while his cavalry was compoſed of men unuſed to ſuch ſervice, he gave them full inſtructions how to act, telling them not to halt to give thruſts, becauſe the firſt thing that the Indian does when wounded is, to ſeize the lance. He farther directed, that if ſuch a thing happened, the ſoldier ſhould put ſpurs to his horſe, and with the lance firmly graſped in his hand, and under his arm, wreſt it from the enemy by the force of the horſe. Having then placed watches, guards, and patroles, he gave orders that the cavalry ſhould remain ſaddled all night, and the troops went to their repoſe on the bank of a river. The Mexicans and Tlaſcalans were poſted at a little diſtance, for Sandoval knew by experience, that if the enemy attacked him in the night, he would be little benefited by them.

As ſoon as daylight appeared, Sandoval put his army into march, but had hardly advanced half a mile when he heard the ſound of the drums of the Indians, and he was ſhortly after fronted by three large bodies of their warriors, who attempted to ſurround him. As ſoon as Sandoval perceived this, he made an attack upon them with his cavalry in two ſquadrons with ſuch ſpirit that he entirely broke and diſperſed them. This was not however effected without the loſs of two ſoldiers and three horſes. Our allies then made conſiderable deſtruction, burning all before them, until the army arrived at St. Eſtevan

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del Puerto. The remains of this colony Sandoval found in a wretched ſtate, and he was received as one who ſaved them from deſtruction; and the ſoldiers of Garay who were there aſſured him that the preſervation of what remained was ſolely owing to our veterans. Sandoval then divided his cavalry, muſketeers and croſs-bowmen into different bodies, and placed them under the command of the veterans, with orders to carry on the war with vigour againſt the neighbouring Indians, and to ſend in what proviſions they could collect, for he was unable to go out, in conſequence of a bad wound. During three days his parties ſent in a number of priſoners of the lower claſs, together with five chiefs, the former of whom Sandoval releaſed. He then gave out an order to his troops not to ſend in any but ſuch as had been preſent, or concerned, where the lives of Spaniards had been loſt.

Sandoval now prepared for an expedition againſt the enemy, and, on the day after, marched out with thoſe troops which he had brought from Mexico, and by ſkilful meaſures ſucceeded in taking twenty caciques, who had commanded where no leſs than ſix hundred Spaniards had been put to death. Purſuing mild and ſevere meaſures at the ſame time, according to circumſtances, he ſummoned the neighbouring towns to a treaty of peace. Some acceded to his propoſals, but others neglected to attend. With the latter he diſſimulated, thinking it beſt not

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to notice their contumacy, and wrote to Cortes, giving a full account of what he had done, and desiring to know how the prisoners should be disposed of. Cortes, on receiving these satisfactory accounts, appointed Sandoval to succeed Vallejo as commandant at St. Estevan, and informed him, that, for the sake of justice, and to prevent future mischief, it was necessary to punish with death those who had been any way concerned in, or who had abetted, the murders of Spaniards; and he gave directions to the alcalde, Diego de Ocampo, to take the necessary steps against them, with orders to execute such as should be legally condemned. He gave orders that every necessary measure also should be taken to conciliate the natives of that province, and that proper steps should be adopted to prevent any future outrages on the part of Garay's troops. These letters, the contents of which were highly satisfactory to Sandoval, having reached him, he proceeded conjointly with Ocampo to put the orders of Cortes into execution. In two days after their receipt they proceeded to the trial of those caciques who were accused, and many being found guilty by evidence, or their own confession, were put to death. Some were burnt, and others hanged; many also were pardoned, and the districts were given to the children and heirs of such as suffered. These acts of justice being done, Ocampo, in compliance with the farther instructions he had received from Cortes, proceeded against all those Spaniards who had committed outrages, robberies or murders;

murders; or who, going through the country in bands, had invited other ſoldiers to deſert to them; and, having ſeized and collected together theſe public diſturbers, he cauſed them to embark for the iſland of Cuba. To Juan de Grijalva Cortes offered the alternative of accepting a preſent of two thouſand crowns, and a paſſage to Cuba, or, if he preferred ſtaying in the country, an honourable reception at Mexico. Grijalva and all the others were anxious however to return, and accordingly they ſet ſail for that iſland.

Sandoval and Ocampo, having thus cleared the colony of theſe troubleſome inmates, returned to Mexico, leaving an officer of the name of Vallecillo governor of the ſettlement. On their arrival they were received by Cortes and every one there as their ſervices merited, for a general apprehenſion prevailed of ſome misfortune occurring on that expedition. Such was the ſucceſs of the meaſures purſued, as I have above related, that there never was another inſurrection in that province.

The reader has been told how the licentiate Zuazo met with Garay in the iſland of Cuba, and that the latter made preſſing invitations to him to take a part in his expedition. Zuazo agreed to this propoſal, and promiſed to follow, as ſoon as he could give up his office. Having effected this, he embarked, taking with

with him two brothers of the order of Mercy, Fra. Gonzalo de Pontevedra, and Fra. Juan de Varillas. Theſe three perſons, purſuing their voyage, fell among ſome ſmall iſlands named Las Viboras, very fatal to veſſels. Here they were obliged to throw overboard their proviſions, and the pieces of pork attracted a number of ſharks, one of which ſeized a ſailor, and tore him to pieces, ſo that the whole water round them was diſcoloured with his blood. They were then obliged to run the veſſel on ſhore, and in this ſituation they were left. Two Indians of Cuba who were with them had the art of obtaining fire by rubbing two dry ſticks together; in the ſand they found ſome brackiſh water, and a quantity of turtles came aſhore to lay their eggs. Thus they obtained proviſions ſufficient to ſuſtain thirteen perſons. The ſailors alſo contrived to kill the ſea wolves which in the night were frequently found on the ſhore. Amongſt the crew were two ſhip carpenters, who had preſerved their working tools. Out of the wreck of the veſſel they conſtructed a ſmall ſailing boat, in which three mariners and one Indian embarked for New Spain, and made the port of Calchocuca, in the river Vanderas. From thence they went to Medellin, and, informing the governor of the ſituation in which they had left the licentiate, he ſent a veſſel in ſearch of them. The veſſel arrived at the iſland, but Fra. Gonzalo died a few days before. The reſt, ſhortly arrived at Medellin; from whence they went to Mexico, where

where they had all reaſon to be ſatisfied with the reception they met with from Cortes, who made Zuazo his alcalde major.

CHAPTER IV.

Expeditions under various Officers.

AS the views of Cortes were always lofty, and tending towards domination, and as he was well ſupported by the talents and bravery of his captains and ſoldiers, after having eſtabliſhed his power in the great city of Mexico, and in Guaxaca, Zacatula, Colima, Vera Cruz, Panuco, and Guacacualco, he learned that in the province of Guatimala there were populous nations, and rich mines. He therefore determined to ſend a force, under Pedro de Alvarado, to conquer and colonize that country, and having firſt ſent an embaſſy thither, ineffectually, Alvarado, at the head of three hundred infantry, and one hundred and thirty-five cavalry, two hundred Tlaſcalans and Cholulans, and one hundred Mexican allies, with four pieces of cannon, was ordered to march to that province.

Cortes

Cortes gave inſtructions to Alvarado, that he ſhould if poſſible bring thoſe nations over to him by peaceable methods, and that Fra. Bartholome ſhould preach to them upon the articles of our holy religion; that all priſons and cages ſhould be broken in pieces, and the priſoners ſet at liberty.

The expedition ſet out from Mexico, on the thirteenth day of December, one thouſand five hundred and twenty-three. On his march Alvarado received the ſubmiſſion of the diſtrict named the Rocks of Gualamo, and there obtained many rich preſents of gold. When the army, paſſing the provinces of the Zapotecas of Teguantepeque, and by Soconuſco, which laſt place contained upwards of fifteen thouſand houſes, came into the neighbourhood of a place called Zapotitlan, at a river over which there was a bridge, they perceived a number of bodies of warriors drawn up to diſpute the paſſage with them. An action enſued, in which many ſoldiers were wounded, and a horſe killed. So numerous were the Indians, that the Spaniards could not break or diſperſe them without three very hard fought battles.

From this place Alvarado continued his march, under conſtant alarms from the neighbouring Indians of Quetzaltenango, and after ſome time he arrived at a defile which aſcends a mountain, for the length of about a league and a half. When he arrived at the ſummit, he found there an Indian woman, very

fat, and having with her a dog of that ſpecies which they breed in order to eat, and which do not bark. This Indian was a witch; ſhe was in the act of ſacrificing the dog, which is a ſignal of hoſtility. Shortly after, our army perceived multitudes of armed Indians advancing upon them on all ſides, in a difficult, broken tract of ground, where the cavalry could not charge. The infantry advanced, but our troops ſoon perceived that theſe Indians acted upon a regular plan; for they retreated into the moſt rough and difficult ground, where above ſix thouſand of the warriors of Utatlan, which is adjacent to Quetzaltenango, fell upon our people. They were however for the preſent put to flight, but ſoon rallied, being reinforced by freſh troops in great numbers, who waited our advance, and fought our troops foot to foot, parties of three or four of them ſeizing a horſe before and behind, and endeavouring to pull him to the ground. During this time the exertions of Alvarado, and the exhortations of Fra. Bartholome, who repreſented to our ſoldiers the ſervice which they owed to God, and that they muſt conquer or die, for the extenſion of our holy faith, never ceaſed; thus animated, our troops completely ſucceeded in diſperſing the Indians. They then halted in the field, and were unmoleſted by the enemy for three days; after which they advanced to the town of Quetzaltenango.

Meaning

Meaning to give ſome repoſe to his troops, Alvarado was diſappointed to find that the Indians were now aſſembled in greater force, and determined to attack him in his poſt. On their approach, to the number of about ſixteen thouſand, for their army was compoſed of two Xiquipils, Alvarado drew out his troops in a plain, and, advancing upon the enemy, completely defeated them, with ſuch loſs, that for a long time after they remained completely under awe of the Spaniards.

The chiefs now propoſed to treat for a peace, and ſent ambaſſadors to Alvarado, who received them kindly; but they had at the ſame time arranged a plan for the deſtruction of the Spaniſh force, and it was this: Not far diſtant was a place called Utatlan, in a difficult country, and ſurrounded with defiles, whither they perſuaded him to march, and it was determined that when the Spaniards were arrived they ſhould be fallen on by ſurpriſe with the forces of both the diſtricts. Alvarado marched for Utatlan, but on his arrival remarked the bad ſituation of the place. This town was of conſiderable ſtrength, having only two gates, to one of which was an aſcent of about five and twenty ſteps, and the other opened to a very bad and broken cauſeway. The ſtreets were very narrow, and the houſes joined; and, in caſe of being attacked, the ground about the town was unfit for cavalry. The Spaniards obſerved alſo that the women and common people had diſappeared; and

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ſome Indians of the place which they had left told them, that warriors were poſted in ambuſcade round the town, which it was intended that night to ſet fire to, and that was to be a ſignal for a general attack.

Alvarado therefore ordered his troops under arms, and marched out into the open country, telling the caciques that it was to give his horſes graſs. They did not ſeem pleaſed with this change, and as ſoon as Alvarado had his troops clear of the town he ſeized the cacique who governed it, and, reproaching him for his treaſon, ordered that he ſhould be burnt alive; but Olmedo obtained a reſpite, and permiſſion to uſe his endeavours to convert him to our holy faith. He accordingly preached an entire day, and at laſt ſucceeded, and, as an indulgence, inſtead of being burned he was hanged, and his territory given to his ſon. Alvarado now fell upon and diſperſed ſuch of the natives as remained about the town, and his ſucceſs having become known in Guatimala, previous to his arrival on the frontiers of that nation, which was in hoſtility with the people of Utatlan, they determined to treat; for that purpoſe they ſent an embaſſy, charged with a quantity of gold, and to declare their ſubmiſſion as vaſſals to his Majeſty. They offered at the ſame time to ſerve in his wars. Alvarado accepted their ſubmiſſion and their offer of ſervice, deſiring them to ſend to him two thouſand of their warriors, which requiſition was immediately complied with. As the people had rebelled again, Alvarado continued

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In the country of Utatlan about eight days, collecting a conſiderable ſpoil and many ſlaves, and then ſetting forward on his march, he ſoon arrived at the city of Guatimala, where he was hoſpitably received.

During this time the greateſt harmony prevailed between Alvarado and his troops, and the natives, the chiefs of whom informed him that in their neighbourhood was a nation called the Altitans, who poſſeſſed ſeveral ſtrong fortreſſes on the ſide of a lake, and who refuſed to come in and make ſubmiſſion. They alſo repreſented them as a bad and malicious people. To theſe Alvarado ſent an invitation, but they maltreated the perſons who brought it, in conſequence of which he found it neceſſary to go with an armed force, and, taking with him one hundred and forty Spaniſh ſoldiers, and two thouſand Guatimalans, he marched againſt them, renewing his offer, which was returned by a diſcharge of arrows from their warriors, who marched out armed in coats of mail, and ſounding warlike inſtruments. Alvarado put them to flight, and purſued them, with conſiderable loſs, to their fortreſſes which were over the lake. He then drove them from thence, and, making ſeveral priſoners, compelled them to take to the water, and croſs over to an iſland. The principal perſons whom he had taken he ſet at liberty, and bid them go and uſe their endeavours to perſuade their countrymen to a peace. Between threats and promiſes, Alvarado at length ſucceeded, after which he returned

returned to Guatimala. Fra. Bartholome exerted himſelf with effect in his holy office, for, erecting an altar and an image of our Lady, he explained the myſteries of our faith to the natives, who imitated our example in adoring the Holy Virgin.

A people who came from a diſtance towards the ſouth, to make ſubmiſſion, and who were named the Pipiles, told our chief, that in their way was a nation called the Izcuintepeques, of a very malignant and obſtinate diſpoſition, who maltreated all ſuch as went through their country. To them he ſent an invitation to come in and make ſubmiſſion, which they neglecting, he marched againſt them with his whole force and a body of his allies of Guatimala, and, coming on them by ſurpriſe, he made great deſtruction among them. This was an unfortunate event, productive of miſchief, and directly contrary to his Majeſty's orders. I have now given the reader a ſummary account of the conqueſt and pacification of Guatimala and its dependencies, but it may be found at full length as written by Gonzalo de Alvarado. I was not preſent at it, nor did I go into that province until my return from Higueras. The Indians of this province are not good ſoldiers; only waiting the attack in broken ground.

Cortes had been informed that the provinces of Higueras and Honduras contained rich mines, and certain ſailors alſo told him they had met with the natives

natives fiſhing, and that they uſed nets which had weights of gold mixed with copper; as alſo, that a ſtrait, or paſſage, was probably ſomewhere about that coaſt. In compliance with his Majeſty's orders, he therefore determined to ſend a body of troops thither, under Chriſtoval de Oli, to ſearch for this paſſage to the Spice Iſlands, and to make inquiry concerning the mines. As the way thither by land was very tedious and difficult, it was determined he ſhould go by ſea, and accordingly ſix ſhips were provided, and three hundred and ſeventy ſoldiers embarked, of whom one hundred were muſketeers and croſs-bowmen, and twenty-two cavalry. Five alſo of the old conquerors of Mexico, the companions of Cortes and his Majeſty's veteran ſervants, who had retired to their houſes and repoſe, were commanded to take up arms again on this occaſion; and it was of no uſe to tell Cortes that any one had ſerved long enough, or ſuffered hardſhips; for when Cortes ordered no remonſtrances availed. There was alſo one Briones, a ſeafaring man, of a ſeditious diſpoſition, and a bitter enemy to Cortes; and many of the ſoldiers who embarked thought they had been ill uſed in the diſtribution of lands and property.

The inſtructions given to De Oli were, to ſail to the Havannah, to receive proviſions and neceſſaries, and purſue his voyage to Higueras, where he was to make inquiry whether any harbour, ſtrait or paſſage lay to the ſouthward; alſo to ſearch for mines of gold and

and ſilver, and in ſome commodious ſituation to build a town, not neglecting the intereſts of the church, for the extenſion whereof two reverend friars, one of whom ſpoke the Mexican language, were to attend the expedition.

De Oli embarked from Villa Rica, and arrived at the Havannah; where he took on board his proviſions and horſes, and alſo five perſons of thoſe who had come out with Garay, and who had been expelled from the ſettlement of Panuco for ſeditious conduct. Theſe perſons attached themſelves to De Oli, and began to inſtil their poiſonous counſels in his mind, adviſing him to renounce his obedience to Cortes. Briones alſo laboured in this, and, having concerted matters with Velaſquez, the mortal enemy of Cortes, it was ſettled amongſt them that De Oli ſhould put himſelf under Velaſquez, who would ſupport him in his expedition, and alſo make ſuch repreſentations at court, that the new ſettlement ſhould be taken out of the hands of Cortes, and the government thereof given to De Oli. This man was of great perſonal valour, a very good ſoldier, but unfit to be a commander; he was at this time about thirty-ſix years of age, and was a native of Baeza or Linares: he had a good perſon and countenance, a cleft in his under lip, and his voice was rough and fierce; he was endued with many good qualities, being ſincere, and for a long time much attached to Cortes; until the ambition of governing, and diſlike of being governed, perverted

perverted his mind, by the influence of bad adviſers. He had been brought up in the houſe of Velaſquez, but was under much greater obligations to Cortes.

De Oli ſet ſail from the Havannah, and on the third of May arrived at his ſtation, which he on that account named El Triumpho de la Cruz. Here he appointed his civil adminiſtration, making his alcaldes and regidors of thoſe whom Cortes had recommended to him. He alſo took poſſeſſion of the country for his Majeſty, in the name of Cortes. His motive for doing this was, becauſe he wiſhed to conceal from theſe perſons his receſſion from his general, and wiſhed to keep them his friends until he could aſcertain how the buſineſs was likely to turn out; for, if the country was as rich as he had reaſon to ſuppoſe, he intended to throw Cortes off, and ſet up an independent government; if, on the other hand, it ſhould appear not to be valuable, he could return to his poſſeſſions at Mexico, and gloſs over to Cortes his negotiations with Velaſquez, by pretending it was done in order to put him in good humour, and induce him to give him the neceſſary ſupplies. Thus was the new colony of El Triumpho de la Cruz eſtabliſhed, from whence no intelligence reached Cortes for upwards of eight months.

In the town of Guacacualco were a conſiderable number of veterans, and Spaniards of quality, who were entruſted with the government of the province

of that name, together with thoſe of Citla, Tabaſco, Cimatan, Chontalpa, Cachula, Zoque, the Quilenes, Cinacatan, and Chamuela, Chiapa of the Indians, Papanauſta, Pinula, Xaltepeque, Guazpaltepeque, Chinanta, and Tepeque. In the whole of New Spain, the demand of tribute was the ſignal for an inſurrection, and thoſe who attempted the collection of it were killed, as indeed were all Spaniards who fell into the hands of the natives. In thoſe provinces the reſiſtance was univerſal, and we were under the neceſſity of going round from one city or town to another with a company of ſoldiers, to preſerve the peace.

The diſtrict of Cimatan being particularly refractory, and captain Luis Marin being unwilling at that time to ſend a body of troops thither, it was determined that four neighbours, whereof I was one, ſhould be ſent to try if we could bring the people to reaſon. Accordingly, ſetting out upon our journey, when we approached the principal town, we diſpatched meſſengers to acquaint the people with our buſineſs. When we came nearer to it we were met by a large body of Indians, armed with lances, and bows and arrows, who killed two of my comrades, and wounded me deſperately in the throat. My ſurviving companion, after a few blows, provided for himſelf by making off to ſome canoes by the bank of the river Macapa, ſo that I was left alone; I however retained ſufficiently my ſenſes to creep into ſome buſhes, where, recovering a little, I addreſſed myſelf to

to Heaven, and implored the aid of our Holy Virgin, beſeeching her not to let me die in the hands of thoſe dogs of Indians. Then, feeling my powers return to me, I ſallied out, and, forcing my paſſage through the natives, giving many good cuts by the way, I made my eſcape to where my comrade was in the canoes, with four Indians whom we had brought with us to carry our baggage, which they had thrown away, and which the natives quitted us to pillage. As it was the will of God that we ſhould not loſe our lives on this occaſion, we then got acroſs the river, which is very broad and deep, and full of alligators. To avoid the Indians we were obliged to remain eight days concealed in the woods, and, from our not appearing, we were all concluded to be loſt. As was the cuſtom at that time, our property was forthwith divided amongſt the other Spaniards; however, at the end of twenty-three days we returned to our town, to the great joy of our friends, and diſappointment of thoſe who had gotten poſſeſſion of our lands and Indians.

Captain Marin now thought proper to go to Cortes to repreſent the ſtate of affairs, and demand more ſoldiers. He accordingly ſet out and waited on Cortes, who gave him thirty ſoldiers, commanded by Alonzo de Grado, with orders for the whole body of Spaniards to march for the province of Chiapa, which was in a ſtate of war. Accordingly we ſet out, for the

the purpoſe of reducing it, and of building a town there, to keep the inhabitants in check.

The firſt thing neceſſary was to make a road through the woods, in a very marſhy country, where we were obliged to make cauſeways for the horſes to paſs. Proceeding thus, we arrived at a place called Tezpuztlan, and continued our route to another town named Cachula, from whence we proceeded, there being no paſſage previous to our expedition, from the fear the other natives have of thoſe of Chiapa, who undoubtedly were at that time the braveſt warriors in America; they alſo robbed paſſengers and travelling merchants, and brought off the inhabitants of theſe diſtricts to colonize and till their ground; nor could the Mexicans ever ſubdue them. This our expedition took place in Lent, the year I cannot bring to my recollection, but think it was one thouſand five hundred and twenty-four. When we came near the city of Chiapa, we made a review of our force, which conſiſted of twenty-ſeven horſemen, twenty-three muſketeers, and a field piece under the direction of a gunner who told us that he had ſerved in Italy. However that was, he was of no uſe, being a very cowardly fellow. We had ſeventy foot ſoldiers armed with ſword and target, and about eighty Mexicans. The cacique of Cachula, with ſome of his principal people, attended us, trembling with fear; four ſoldiers of the moſt active of our little army, of whom I was one, were always ſent forward to reconnoitre; the

the ground not being fit for a horſe, I left mine behind, and we were uſually in front of the army about half a league. The people of Chiapa being much accuſtomed to hunting, ſome of them who were thus employed, perceiving us at a diſtance, gave the alarm, and made ſignals by ſmoke.

As we approached their firſt ſettlement, which is called Eſtapa, and is diſtant four leagues from the principal town, we found the roads, which ran through cultivated grounds, wide and convenient; and on each ſide were plentiful crops of corn and vegetables. We entered this town, but the inhabitants had quitted it; and, having poſted our guards and ſent out patroles, the remainder went to reſt; but we were ſoon roufed by the arrival of two of our out party, who came in at full ſpeed to tell us that the natives were collecting from all parts to attack us. We ſtood to our arms, and advanced to meet them out of the town, where a very ſevere action enſued; for they were provided with darts hardened in fire, war clubs, and lances larger than ours, and alſo a good defenſive armour made of cotton. As the field of battle was very ſtony, their ſlingers did us infinite miſchief. They approached us ſo cloſe that in the firſt attack they killed two of our ſoldiers, and four horſes, wounded our reverend father, Fra. Juan, and thirteen ſoldiers, and deſtroyed many of our allies. Our captain, Marin, alſo was wounded in two places. This action laſted till dark night, when, having made an

an unſatisfactory experiment of the ſharpneſs of our ſwords and the effect of our muſketry, the enemy retired, leaving behind them fifteen killed, and many wounded, from two of whom, apparently principal people, we learned, that on the next day a general attack was intended upon us.

The manner in which the enemy had fought convinced us that they were no deſpicable warriors; for when a cavalry man halted to make a thruſt, the Indians ſeized the horſe, and wreſted the lance out of the horſeman's hand, or pulled him to the ground.

On the next day we purſued our route to the city of Chiapa; and a city it might truly be called, from the regularity of its ſtreets and houſes. It contained not leſs than four thouſand families, not reckoning the population of the many dependent towns in its neighbourhood. At the diſtance of about a quarter of a league from the place which we had left, we found the whole force of Chiapa drawn up to receive us. Their troops were adorned with plumage, and well armed, offenſively and defenſively, and the hills reſounded with their ſhouts on our appearance. It was dreadful to behold the fury with which they threw themſelves upon us like enraged lions; as for our black artillery man, (and black he was indeed to us) he was ſo ſtupified with fear, that he ſtood trembling and unable to put the match to the gun, and when at laſt we ſucceeded in rouſing him, he fired the

the piece with no other effect than that of wounding three of our own men. Our captain gave orders to the cavalry to form in ſmall bodies, and the muſketeers, croſs-bow-men, and ſword and buckler men, to cloſe into one compact battalion, whereby the cavalry and infantry ſupported each other. The enemy were ſo numerous that had we not been the men we were, it would have gone very hard with us; and we ourſelves were aſtoniſhed at the bravery of our adverſaries: but good father Bartholome ſtood firmly by us, and adminiſtered comfort to us by his exhortations, promiſing that we ſhould be rewarded for our exertions, both by God and by Cæſar. Our captain Marin likewiſe frequently encouraged us, calling out to charge them in the name of St. Jago. We at length forced them to fly before us; but as there were hard by tracts of very rocky ground, where the cavalry could not follow them, freſh bodies of Indians fell upon us by ſurpriſe, while we, thinking the day our own, were returning thanks to God and our Lady. Of theſe troops a number were prepared with long thongs to twiſt round the horſes, and throw them down, and they had alſo ſtretched out the nets which they uſed in hunting, for the ſame purpoſe. The enemy attacked us here ſo deſperately, that hardly one of our ſoldiers eſcaped without a wound; they wreſted the lances from ſome of our cavalry, and killed two ſoldiers and five horſes. In the centre of their army was a woman, aged, and immoderately fat, who was eſteemed by them a goddeſs, and had promiſed them

them, the victory. They had alſo incenſe in a pan, and certain idols made of ſtone. This woman, who had her body painted, and cotton mixed with the paint, advanced without any fear among our allies, who were formed by companies, and by whom this infernal deity was in a very ſhort time torn to pieces.

During this time the battle raged, and we and our captain, recommending ourſelves to our Lady, and beſeeching the reverend father to pray for us, threw ourſelves into the thickeſt of it, and forced the enemy to fly, ſome to the rocks, others to the river, whereby they effected their eſcape, being excellent ſwimmers. We then halted to take breath, and our good friar, joined by the ſoldiers, ſang the hymn which begins "Salve, &c." and we returned thanks to God for the victory. Our army then advanced towards a town by the ſide of a river, where we remained the entire day and night, paying particular attention to the concealment of our dead.

About midnight, ten chieftains of the neighbouring diſtricts came down the river, which is very broad and deep, in five canoes; they diſembarked at one of our poſts, and were made priſoners. Being brought before our captain, they told him they belonged to a nation called the Xaltepeques, againſt whom the people of Chiapa had made war; their object was, to offer their ſupport, and to obtain from us a promiſe, that in caſe of ſucceſs againſt the Chiapans,

pans, we ſhould ſet free from them the nations to which theſe Indians belonged; in the hopes of which, they promiſed us aſſiſtance to paſs the river, which could not otherwiſe be done. This was very ſatisfactory to us, and therefore, leaving two of their party behind, the reſt went immediately to provide twenty canoes. The remainder of the night was paſſed under a ſtrict watch, for the drums and horns of the enemy were heard, from the banks of the river, where they were collecting to attack us. As ſoon as it was light we ſaw our friends arrive with the canoes; they alſo ſhewed us a ford, though a very dangerous one, and were urgent to us to loſe no time in paſſing, to ſave the lives of ſome of their countrymen who had been made priſoners. Accordingly we paſſed the river, formed into a ſolid column, at the ford, which took us up to our arm-pits, and where we loſt one of our cavalry. On the oppoſite bank we were aſſailed by the enemy with ſuch a diſcharge of darts and arrows, that not one of our party eſcaped without two or three wounds before we could get out of the water; but vaſt bodies of other Indians appearing in our rear, and declaring for us, by attacking the Chiapans, they were ſoon forced to turn their backs and fly towards their city, whither we advanced in good order, with colours flying, and accompanied by our allies. On our arrival there, we found it too cloſe built to be ſafely occupied by us, and we therefore pitched our camp in the open field. Our captain now ſent meſſengers inviting them to peace, and

ſhortly after they ſent a deputation of their chiefs, praying forgiveneſs, and requeſting to be admitted ſubjects to his Majeſty. They alſo deſired that the neighbouring nations might not be permitted to deſtroy their houſes and plantations, which requeſt was readily granted. When we went into this town we found many priſoners confined in wooden cages, who had been ſeized by them when travelling. All theſe were releaſed and ſent to their homes. In their temples we found idols of horrid figure, which Fra. Juan broke to pieces, and alſo many remains of men and boys juſt ſacrificed, and other traces of their moſt abominable cuſtoms.

Our captain then ſent orders to all the neighbouring nations to come in. Amongſt the firſt who obeyed were thoſe of Chinacatan, Gopanauſtla, Pinola, Gueguiztlan, Chamula, the Quilenes, and others of the Zoque language, with many more which I do not recollect. Theſe people were much ſurpriſed when they perceived with how ſmall a body we had ventured to attack the warlike nation of the Chiapans, whom the Mexicans never could conquer. Fra. Juan preached to them with great ſucceſs, and many came to him to be baptized.

While this was paſſing, a certain Spaniſh ſoldier, attended by eight Mexicans, went to a town called Chamula, and there demanded without any authority a contribution of gold in the name of his captain.

A portion was collected for him, but, not ſatisfied therewith, he attempted to ſeize the cacique, which cauſed an inſurrection in that and a neighbouring town named Guehuiſtlan. As ſoon as our captain got intelligence of it, he cauſed him to be ſeized, and immediately ſent him off by expreſs, priſoner to Mexico. This man was one who conſidered himſelf of conſequence amongſt us, very evil diſpoſed, and cruel to the Indians.

We then proceeded to Chamula, which in conſequence of the above related outrage continued in rebellion. We were aſſiſted on our march by the people of Cinacatan, a poliſhed and mercantile nation, and, arriving at Chamula, we found this place ſtrongly fortified by nature, and the inhabitants well armed, having a large kind of ſhield with which they could cover the whole body, and which when not wanted was rolled up. When we approached we were attacked with ſhowers of arrows, upon which our captain ordered the cavalry to go into the plain, there to watch the inſurgents of the neighbouring diſtricts of Quiabuitlan. Our muſketeers then fired upon the enemy, but with very little effect, whereas their miſſile weapons injured us who were uncovered, materially. We were during this whole day fighting thus, to very little purpoſe, and when we attempted to force the ramparts, we found them guarded by above two thouſand men armed with lances. Finding our endeavours ineffectual, it was determined to procure timber

timber from another town, which was depopulated, and to conſtruct of it the machines named burros or mantas, under cover of which twenty men or more could approach, and remain under the walls, ſo as to work an entrance. We therefore drew off for that time, and having procured the timber and conſtructed theſe machines, we again proceeded to the attack. Under cover of them our men endeavoured to undermine the wall, the enemy throwing down upon us ſcalding water mixed with blood, fire, and heavy ſtones, inſomuch that we were quite in deſpair, and forced to retreat to repair the machines, which having done, we again brought them to the walls, and, working under them, we made different breaches. As ſoon as the enemy perceived this, they ſent up to the top of their ramparts four of their principal perſons, prieſts, and others, who addreſſed us covered with their thick ſhields, and told us, that ſince we wanted gold we might have it; and therewith threw over ſeven crowns of fine gold, together with a quantity of gold trinkets, and other things made of that metal, caſt in the forms of ſhells and birds; and they alſo at the ſame time ſent among us freſh ſhowers of arrows, darts, and ſtones. We had ſucceeded in making two conſiderable breaches in the walls, but it was now dark, and a heavy rain began to fall; we were therefore obliged to deſiſt for that night, keeping good watch all round our poſt, and the cavalry remaining on the plain ground, ſaddled and bridled. The enemy during the whole night were ſounding

their

their warlike inſtruments, ſuch as timbals and ſmall trumpets, yelling, and threatening us with deſtruction on the next day, which they ſaid had been promiſed to them by their gods.

At day break we again brought forward our machines, to work at their walls, which the enemy defended with the greateſt obſtinacy, wounding five of our people, and amongſt them myſelf by a thruſt, and were it not for the ſtrength of my cotton quilted armour, the lance would have gone through me. Thus we were employed during the whole day, and the evening was drawing on, with a heavy fall of rain and a very thick miſt, as is frequently the caſe in that mountainous country. In conſequence of this our captain called us off from the engagement, and about the ſame time the enemy ceaſing to ſhout and make the noiſes they had hitherto done, I, who was accuſtomed to buſineſs of the kind, and alſo perceiving that their lances were reſted againſt the walls, barbicans, and battlements, except about two hundred that ſtill appeared to be in hand, began to ſuſpect they were going to abandon the place; in conſequence whereof, I and one of my comrades getting in at a ſmall breach in the wall, to ſee what they were doing, fell ſuddenly in upon upwards of two hundred of them in arms, who attacked us with their lances, and would ſpeedily have put an end to us, but that ſome of our Indian allies, who perceived our ſituation, called out to the reſt of our ſoldiers, who crowded in to where we were

were ſurrounded by theſe Indians, who only compoſed the rear guard of the garriſon; for all the reſt, men, women and children, had evacuated the place by the other gate.

Theſe who remained we quickly put to flight, and, purſuing them, we came up with many of the others, and made priſoners ſeveral men, women and children. We now quitted the town, and purſued our route towards Chinacatan, halting for that night at a place where at preſent the city of Chiapa de los Eſpanoles is built. Being arrived here, our captain diſcharged ſix of his priſoners, with orders to inform their countrymen that if they ſubmitted, he would deliver up to them the whole of thoſe he had taken, which meſſage was delivered, and cheerfully complied with.

In conſequence of the orders which Cortes had given to our captain, who was alſo my particular friend, to give me ſome good ſituation, I was appointed to the command of this encomienda, which I held for eight years. The firſt thing I did was, to get a reverend father to preach to the Indians, and convert them to the chriſtian faith; we accordingly erected an altar and crucifix, and he preached to them to good effect. The firſt day we baptized fifteen, to my great ſatisfaction, for I loved and wiſhed well to them, they being now my own. There was in this neighbourhood a people who inhabited three fortified towns, and were in rebellion againſt us, named the Gueguetitlans,

Guegueſtitlans, and it became neceſſary to march againſt and reduce them. Leaving therefore our wounded and baggage behind, the moſt ſtout and active among us proceeded againſt them; they had barricaded all their approaches with fallen trees, which we cleared by the aſſiſtance of our Indian allies, and arrived under their fortreſſes, which appeared likely to give us enough to do; for the firſt we came to was full of warriors who were well appointed, offenſively and defenſively. When we mounted to the aſſault they all fled and left the place to us, but our allies made two of them priſoners, who were immediately releaſed, and ſent with offers of peace and good treatment to their friends, on ſubmiſſion. Theſe conditions they accepted, and came in, bringing with them ſome trifling preſents of gold, and feathers of the quetzal.

Having thus effected our buſineſs here, we proceeded, according to the directions of Cortes, to eſtabliſh a colony. Hereupon there was a difference of opinion amongſt us, for ſome were for it, but others, who had plantations and Indians in Guacacualco, were adverſe, objecting to it as an unfit ſituation for cavalry, and ſaying alſo that our force in its preſent reduced ſtate was inſufficient, the diſtrict being populous, and the towns built in the faſtneſſes of the mountains. Thus our party fell into diſputes upon this and other ſubjects; for our captain, Marin, and Diego de Godoy, who was a royal notary and a very buſy perſon, were adverſe

adverſe to the plan. That troubleſome fellow Alonzo de Grado, alſo, it appeared, was poſſeſſed of a patent from Cortes, giving him an encomienda in the province of Chiapa, when it was reduced to obedience. By virtue of this he demanded from Marin the gold which had been obtained from the Indians of Chiapa, and alſo that which had been found in the temples, amounting to one thouſand five hundred crowns. This Marin refuſed, alledging that it was neceſſary to employ it in replacing the horſes which had been killed in the expedition. All theſe differences together brought matters to ſuch an extremity, that our captain put both of them in irons, determining to ſend De Grado to Mexico; as to Godoy, by dint of interceſſion and promiſes he obtained his releaſe. Godoy made but a very bad return to Marin for his lenity, for he immediately entered into a cabal with De Grado, and it was agreed between them to make a formal complaint to Cortes againſt him. I was applied to alſo to write to him in exculpation of De Grado, becauſe they ſaid that Cortes would believe my repreſentations. I did write indeed, but it was to let Cortes know the true ſtate of the caſe, and by no means charging Marin with any impropriety. De Grado was ſent to Mexico under an oath to preſent himſelf to Cortes within eighty days; that time being allowed on account of the diſtance, which is upwards of one hundred and ninety leagues.

It

It was now determined by us to chaſtiſe thoſe people who killed the two ſoldiers of that party wherewith I was ſent, as formerly mentioned. In our way we marched through a diſtrict ſo very rugged, that the paſſage was impoſſible to our horſes without aſſiſtance, which, on an application to the caciques, was readily afforded us. Theſe people are named Tapelola. Continuing our route by the Silo, Suchiapa and Coyumelapa diſtricts, we came to thoſe of the Tecomayatacal and Ateapan Indians. The houſes in the chief town, which belonged to my diſtrict, joined each other, and formed a very populous and extenſive place. Near this was a large and deep river, which it was neceſſary to paſs, and here we were oppoſed by the people of the town and vicinity; but after a ſharp action, wherein we had ſix ſoldiers wounded and three horſes killed, we put them to flight, they all taking to the mountains and woods, having firſt ſet fire to their town. We ſtayed here five days, taking care of the wounded; and, having made many of the women of this place priſoners, our captain ſent to invite the people to peace, which was accepted, and they returned to their homes. Godoy was averſe from this lenity, and told our captain that theſe people who had revolted without any reaſon ſhould be puniſhed, or at any rate made to pay for the horſes which were killed in the action. I was of a different opinion, and thought that ſince they came peaceably they ſhould not be made to ſuffer; and giving my opinion freely, Godoy became enraged and

broke out into angry words, from which we came to blows, and drew our ſwords. A good many cuts paſſed between us before we could be parted, and if we had not been ſo, one or other of us would have loſt his life. Marin, who was a good and mild man, ſaw the impropriety of uſing harſh meaſures with theſe people, and, reſtoring all their property to them, left them in peace.

We continued our march, and, paſſing by other diſtricts of Cimatlan and Talatiopan, we were aſſailed by a number of their archers, who gave us a volley whereby above twenty of our ſoldiers were wounded, and two horſes killed; and but that we immediately attacked and drove them from their poſt, they would have done us much miſchief. I muſt obſerve, that theſe are the ſtrongeſt archers that ever I met with, for they drive their arrows through two ſuits of cotton mail well quilted; which is a wonderful force. Their country is in great part marſh, which ſhakes when a foot-man walks upon it. It was therefore in vain to purſue the natives, and as for our offers of peace they treated them with neglect. We therefore thought it beſt to make our ſhorteſt way to our town of Guacacualco. We took our route for it by the diſtrict of Guimango, Nacaxa, Xuica, Teotitlan, Copilco, and others which I do not recollect, to Ulapa, and acroſs the rivers Agaquahulco and Tonala, to Guacacualco, where the killed horſes were paid for at a penny a pound.

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As to De Grado, when he arrived at Mexico and waited on Cortes, the general was highly diſpleaſed with him, telling him to take three thouſand crowns, and go to the iſland of Cuba, and give him and others no farther trouble. De Grado however made ſuch apologies that they were afterwards good friends.

CHAPTER V.

Tranſactions in Old Spain.

IN the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-one, our moſt Holy Father pope Adrian of Lobayana ſucceeded to the ſovereign pontificate. He was then governor of Caſtille, and reſided in the city of Vittoria, where our agents waited upon him to kiſs the foot of his Holineſs. At the ſame time arrived a great nobleman from Germany, called Moſiur de Laſoa, chamberlain to his Majeſty, by whom he was ſent to congratulate his Holineſs on his election. This M. de Laſoa, having heard the heroical actions of the conquerors of Mexico, and the great works they had done for the extenſion of our holy faith, by the converſion and baptiſm of ſo many thouſands of Indians,

Indians, was interested in our behalf, and applied to the Holy Pontiff, requesting him to accelerate the business wherein our agents were employed. This request was readily granted, for, independent of what was laid before him by our agents, our Holy Father had received many complaints against the bishop of Burgos from persons of high honour and quality, whereby our agents were encouraged to proceed in a formal accusation against him. Those who were most active in the business were Francisco de Montejo, Diego de Ordas, the licentiate Francisco Nunez, cousin to Cortes, and Martin Cortes, our general's father, who were assisted by many great and powerful noblemen, but principally by the Duke de Bejar; and, thus countenanced, they brought forward their charges with great effect.

The first was, that Velasquez had bribed him with a district, with the people of which he worked gold mines. Secondly, that in the year one thousand five hundred and seventeen, when one hundred and ten of us procured vessels at our own expense and set out for the discovery of New Spain, the bishop of Burgos informed his Majesty that it was Diego de Velasquez who had done so, contrary to the truth. Thirdly, that Velasquez had sent twenty thousand crowns in gold, which his nephew Juan de Grijalva had obtained, to the bishop, and no part to his Majesty; and that when Cortes sent a present of gold, the bishop seized it, suppressing our letters, and substituting others,

others, aſcribing the ſaid preſent to Velaſquez. Alſo, that the biſhop retained one half of the treaſure, and when Puertocarrero applied to him for permiſſion to wait upon his Majeſty, he cauſed him to be ſeized and thrown into priſon, where he died. Alſo, that he ſent orders to the officers of the Caſa de Contractacion of Seville, that they ſhould not give any aſſiſtance to Cortes. Farther, that he appointed as officers to the military ſervice, in New Spain, ſuch as were not fit for it, as was the caſe in regard to one Tapia, to whom, in order to bring about a marriage between his niece and the ſaid Tapia, he promiſed the government of New Spain. Alſo, that he approved for good the falſe relations tranſmitted by the agents of Velaſquez, which he forwarded to his Majeſty, ſuppreſſing thoſe of Cortes, which were the true ones. There were beſides many other charges, all very well ſubſtantiated, and which he could not deny.

Theſe things being all brought to light, his Holineſs was pleaſed to order that the biſhop of Burgos ſhould have no farther authority in New Spain, that Cortes ſhould be declared governor thereof, and that Velaſquez ſhould receive compenſation for the expenſes he had been at, and could duly prove. His Holineſs ſent alſo to New Spain a number of indulgences for the hoſpitals and churches, and was pleaſed to direct Cortes and us the conquerors to pay unremitting attention to the converſion of the Indians, adding how much it was the duty of himſelf and all Chriſtendom

dom to pray for thoſe who had done ſo much for the advancement of our holy faith. He alſo was pleaſed to ſend to us his holy bulls of abſolution. All this his Majeſty graciouſly thought proper to confirm, ſo far as relates to the civil and military eſtabliſhment, adding thereto his order to Velaſquez to give up his government of Cuba, on account of his having ſent out the armament under Narvaez in defiance of the peremptory orders of the royal chamber of audience, and of the brethren of the order of St. Jerome. The biſhop of Burgos was ſo affected by the cenſure which his holineſs the Pope paſſed upon his conduct, and by his Majeſty's orders in conſequence thereof, that when he retired to his country ſeat at Toro he fell dangerouſly ill.

At this period arrived in Old Caſtille Pamphilo de Narvaez, and Chriſtoval de Tapia whom the biſhop of Burgos had created governor of New Spain, together with the pilots Umbria and Cardenas. Theſe perſons waited on the biſhop to demand his permiſſion to lay their accuſations againſt Cortes before his Majeſty, and, as the biſhop deſired nothing better than to hear complaints of Cortes and of us, he ſhewed them every favour in his power. When the agents of Velaſquez perceived this, they gladly joined the party, and all together went to prefer their charges before the Emperor.

They

They made ſtrong accuſations againſt Cortes; firſt, that Velaſquez fitted out armaments three times to his own great coſt, and entruſted the command of the laſt to Cortes, who broke his engagement. Farther, that when Velaſquez ſent Narvaez with his Majeſty's commiſſion as governor general of New Spain, Cortes made war upon and defeated him. Alſo, that when the biſhop of Burgos ſent Tapia to take the government of thoſe countries in his Majeſty's name, he refuſed to obey, and by main force compelled him to reimbark. They alſo accuſed Cortes of having obtained a quantity of gold in the name of his Majeſty, and converting it to his own uſe; of having taken to himſelf a fifth of all prizage; of having burnt the feet of Guatimotzin; of retaining the ſoldiers' ſhares; and building palaces and fortified houſes that were as large as whole villages, making the inhabitants round Mexico work at them, and forcing them to draw large cypreſs trees, and ſtones, from a great diſtance; and that he had given poiſon to Franciſco de Garay, to get from him his troops and ſhipping. There were many other accuſations brought forward, ſo that his Majeſty was at laſt tired of hearing them, believing them to be true.

Narvaez, when admitted into the Emperor's preſence, addreſſed him in his pompous tone of voice, as follows: "Your Majeſty muſt further know, that "on the night I was taken priſoner, having your "royal commiſſion in my pocket, my eye put out, and "in

"in apprehenſion of being burnt alive, for the apart-
"ment was in flames, one of Cortes's captains, Alon-
"zo de Avila, at preſent priſoner in France, violent-
"ly tore your commiſſion out of my pocket, and
"when I claimed it, declaring what it was, he denied
"the fact, and ſaid that they were bonds for money
"owing me by Spaniards in Mexico, and which I was
"coming to enforce." At this the Emperor could not refrain from laughing. In regard to the charges, his Majeſty ſaid, he would give orders that ſtrict juſtice ſhould be done; and he forthwith commanded, that certain perſons of his royal privy council ſhould be formed into a court of inquiry to hear and decide upon theſe allegations. The perſons who compoſed this court were Mercurio Catarinario, grand chancellor of Italy, De la Soa, and doctor De la Roche, Flemings; Hernando de Vega, lord of Grajales, the doctor De Garavajal, and the licentiate Vargas.

This court gave notice to the parties to come forward, and accordingly they produced their charges in the ſame form that they had been laid before his Majeſty. To the charges brought by Velaſquez it was replied, that De Cordova was the diſcoverer of New Spain, who did it with his companions at their own coſt, and that Velaſquez was here alſo criminal, in that he ordered him to go to the iſland of Los Guanajes, to take Indians by force, and make ſlaves of them. Farther, that admitting he ſent Juan de Grijalva thither, it was not for the purpoſe of co-

lonization,

lonization, but only for trade. That for the expenſes incurred, the principal part was borne by the different captains, and not by Velaſquez, and theſe captains had there collected twenty thouſand crowns, the principal part of which went to Velaſquez. Farther, that Velaſquez gave the biſhop of Burgos Indians in the iſland of Cuba to procure gold, neglecting his duty to his Majeſty. Alſo, that admitting it was he who ſent Cortes, it was by the approbation of his Majeſty, and by the providence of God; for that any other commander would have failed in an undertaking of ſuch danger, and that Cortes was not ſent by him to colonize, but to barter; and that his eſtabliſhment in the country was owing, not to the inſtructions of Velaſquez, but the inſtances of his companions, for the ſervice of God and his Majeſty. Alſo that it was well known, that Cortes reported the whole of his proceedings to his Majeſty, ſending therewith all the gold he had been able to procure, he and his companions awaiting his Majeſty's further orders, proſtrate on the earth. It was alſo repreſented, how the biſhop of Burgos ſuppreſſed the ſaid letters, and ſeized the preſents, concealing from his Majeſty our meritorious ſervice; and when our agents wanted to obtain permiſſion to wait on his Majeſty, he threw one of them, Puertocarrero, into priſon, where he died; and that he forbid the officers of his Majeſty, at Seville, to furniſh us with what we required. All which was done by the ſaid biſhop, from a corrupt motive, as he wanted to procure a marriage

between either Velaſquez or Tapia, and his niece, named Donna Petronila de Fonſeca, as he had promiſed that his ſon-in-law ſhould be governor of Mexico. In ſupport of all which accuſations they were ready to produce proofs. As to the expedition of Narvaez, our agents replied, that, in the firſt place, Velaſquez deſerved to ſuffer death for diſobedience of his Majeſty's orders; and alſo that he applied himſelf ſolely to the biſhop, neglecting his Majeſty, which was a high diſreſpect; in conſequence therefore of the above miſdemeanors and crimes, our agents prayed that the court would be pleaſed to award puniſhment; to which the court replied that they would take it into conſideration.

In reply to the charges brought againſt Cortes by Narvaez it was repreſented, that on his coming to New Spain he ſent word to the great King Montezuma, that he came to reſcue him, and thereby cauſed ſuch a diſturbance in the country, as produced a dangerous war. That, on his arrival at Vera Cruz, Cortes had written to him a friendly letter, deſiring to ſee his commiſſion, to which Narvaez would make no anſwer, but declared war againſt Cortes and his companions, notwithſtanding that Cortes invited him to, and repreſented the neceſſity of, an amicable junction, for the good of his Majeſty's ſervice, leſt all ſhould be loſt. But Cortes, finding that all his offers were neglected, and Narvaez not ſhewing him his Majeſty's commiſſion, and knowing the miſconduct of

Narvaez

Narvaez in ſeizing his Majeſty's oydor, to bring him to puniſhment for ſo doing, went to him, determined to ſee his authority, and to know the reaſon of his conduct, and that Narvaez had then attempted to ſurpriſe and ſeize him, of which he could adduce proofs and witneſſes; amongſt others Andres de Duero, who was at that time with Narvaez. In regard to his cauſing the failure of Garay, and poiſoning him at breakfaſt, it was replied that the failure of the expedition was owing to Garay's own miſconduct, and ignorance of the country. That when Garay found his ſituation hopeleſs, he accepted the friendly offer which Cortes had made him, of an hoſpitable reception at Mexico, where an alliance was agreed upon between the families, and Garay was to have had aſſiſtance to eſtabliſh a colony on the river Palmas; and that if it was God's will to take him from this life, according to the oaths of the phyſicians, by a pleuriſy, it was not in the power of Cortes to prevent it. Cortes alſo proved, in anſwer to the charge of having retained his Majeſty's fifth, that he had fairly expended it in the ſervice, together with ſix thouſand crowns of his own property: that the fifth which he deducted for himſelf was according to compact; and in regard to the charge of detaining the ſoldiers' prize money it was replied, that in the capture of Mexico very little gold remained to be divided, inaſmuch as the wealth of the place was almoſt all fallen into the hands of the Tlaſcalan and Tezcucan allies. In regard to burning the feet of Guatimotzin, it was done contrary

trary to the inclination of Cortes, by his Majeſty's officers, to force him to diſcover where Montezuma's treaſure was concealed. In anſwer to the charge of his buildings, it was ſtated, that they were truly ſumptuous, and that the cypreſſes and ſtones were brought from a great diſtance, but that the ſaid buildings were for the uſe and honour of his Majeſty and his ſucceſſors: that the materials were brought the principal part of the way by water, and that the work was carried on by the general labour of the Indians, under the order of Guatimotzin, as is always the caſe in building the houſes of the great in that country. As to the complaint of Alonzo de Avila forcibly taking the commiſſion from Narvaez, it appeared upon inſpection that there was no commiſſion whatever in thoſe papers, the whole of which were receipts for the purchaſe of horſes, and other things ſimilar; but that Cortes never ſaw them, nor was it done by his order. In regard to the complaints of the pilots againſt Cortes, the feet of Umbria were cut off by the hand of juſtice, as a puniſhment for running away with his ſhip, and Cardenas had refuſed to take his ſhare in the diviſion of the gold, conſenting that the whole ſhould be ſent to his Majeſty, but that Cortes had given him out of his own purſe three hundred crowns, which was as much as he deſerved, being a perſon of little conſideration, and no ſoldier. In regard to the charge relative to Tapia, it was alledged, that had he come to Mexico and produced his Majeſty's orders, they ſhould have been received by Cortes, proſtrate on the ground,

ground, with all reſpect and humility; but his incapacity was ſo notorious, that it was the univerſal deſire, and advice, of the Spaniards then in New Spain, that Cortes ſhould remain in the command. Theſe charges and exculpations having been duly weighed by the court for five days, it was determined to lay the whole of the proceedings before his Majeſty, together with their deciſion, which was accordingly done. The ſentence which they gave was entirely in favour of Cortes: the merit and valour of him and the old conquerors of Mexico were highly praiſed, and ſilence was impoſed on Velaſquez as to his complaints, he being told that if he looked for a remuneration of his expenſes he muſt ſeek it from Cortes by courſe of law. Cortes was alſo declared governor general of New Spain, according to the orders of his holineſs the Pope. The court alſo approved of the arrangements made by him in that country, and authorized him to make the diviſions of the diſtricts in ſuch a manner as he thought fit. Narvaez was referred for redreſs to France, where Avila, who had ſeized his papers, was at preſent priſoner; the pilots Umbria and Cardenas obtained royal ſcedules, granting to them property in New Spain to the amount of one thouſand crowns in rent; and it was ordained that Cortes's veterans ſhould all have immediate and ample gratifications, in lands and Indians, and ſhould enjoy pre-eminence and precedency, ſuch as their valour deſerved. The ſentence thus given was taken to Valladolid to be confirmed by his Majeſty, who

was

was then on his way to Flanders, and who did confirm and ratify it accordingly. His Majeſty alſo gave orders relative to the baniſhment of lapſed converts in that country, and forbid the admiſſion of ſcholars for a term of years. His Majeſty and the king of Hungary were alſo pleaſed to write to Cortes and to us, thanking us for the ſervices we had rendered. The affair being thus decided in our favour, the documents were entruſted to Rodorigo de Paz, couſin to Cortes, and to another relation of his, named Franciſco de las Caſas, who arrived at St. Jago in Cuba, the reſidence of Velaſquez the governor, where the ſentence being made known to him, and proclaimed by ſound of trumpet, he fell ill from vexation, and ſhortly after died very poor and miſerable. Montejo was given by his Majeſty the government of Yucatan and Cozumel, with the lordſhip and title of Don. To Diego de Ordas he confirmed his poſſeſſions in New Spain, and ennobled him, giving him for a coat of arms the Volcano of Guaxocingo; and with theſe honours and emoluments they returned to Mexico, from whence in two or three years De Ordas went back to Caſtille, to obtain from his Majeſty permiſſion to conquer the province of Maranion, in which undertaking he loſt his life and all his property. The biſhop of Burgos was reduced to deſpair when he learned the manner in which the affair had gone, and that all his tranſactions with Velaſquez had come to light.

When

When Las Caſas and Rodrigo de Paz brought the intelligence to Mexico, that Cortes was appointed governor of that country, there was univerſal rejoicing. The meſſengers were liberally rewarded, Las Caſas being made captain, and preſented with a good diſtrict called Anquitlan, and De Paz obtained other valuable poſſeſſions, and was appointed by Cortes his major domo and ſecretary. To all thoſe who came from his country of Medellin, Cortes gave Indians, and to the captain of the veſſel a liberal reward in gold.

Some readers may be curious to learn how theſe matters came to my knowledge; to which I reply, that the conquerors received information of the proceedings of our agents or procuradors, in four or five letters written by them from Caſtille; but I uſed then to ſay often, that it appeared to me that they procured only for Cortes and themſelves, and during all that time, we, who had made Cortes what he was, remained encountering one danger and hardſhip after another. May God grant us his protection, and inſtil into the mind of our great Cæſar the determination to cauſe his true and juſt intentions to be carried into effect.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VI.

Tranſactions and Occurrences in Old and New Spain. Expedition againſt the Zapoteeans.

IT appeared to us, the moſt ancient, wiſe and experienced conquerors of Mexico, that Cortes ought now to conſider duly who were his friends, and ſtood by him through the whole of his difficulties and dangers, from the firſt, and to ſettle his accounts with Pedro, with Sancho, and with Martin, according to their deſerts, which was to be done by recalling to him thoſe who were low, and poor, and unfortunate, and by placing them in good ſituations, according to their deſerts, and his Majeſty's orders. All this Cortes was bound in duty to do, as alſo to procure for us and our children all the good offices, and emoluments, that were to be had in this country of New Spain. But, "that which does not grow from the ſkin, hangs looſely to it;" and ſo it appeared, for inſtead of doing this he procured ſuch for no one but himſelf, as in the firſt place the government, and afterwards when he went to Caſtille, and got his title. But to advert to other matters. In regard to the diviſion of the country, it was decided by many of the moſt experienced, brave and ſage conquerors thereof, that the proper method would be, to divide it into five parts, one whereof ſhould go to his Majeſty, another to be for the eſtabliſhment and revenues of

of our holy church, and the other three to be given to Cortes, and the reſt of us, the true original conquerors of the country; that each ſhould have a ſhare in perpetuity, and in proportion to his rank and deſerts, and that we, for our parts, who had ſerved his Majeſty here, without putting him to the leaſt coſt, and as one may ſay without his knowledge, he being in Flanders, would be well ſatisfied therewith, and contented, and at our eaſe, not wandering about the world as is at preſent the caſe, and falling from bad to worſe; for many of us at this moment are without a morſel of bread to eat; and God knows what will become of our children.

I will now relate what Cortes did, and which I call a very unfair diſtribution. To the veedor Chirinos, the factor Salazar, J. de Ribera, and all thoſe who came from Medellin, and to the dependents of great men who flattered and told him pleaſing things, he refuſed nothing. Not that I blame him for being generous, for there was enough for all; but I ſay that he ought to have firſt conſidered thoſe who ſerved his Majeſty, and whoſe valour and blood made him what he was. But enough of this, and now to other matters, for it is uſeleſs detailing our misfortunes, and how he treated us like vaſſals, and how we were obliged to take to our old trade of expeditions and battles; for though he forgot us in his diſtribution of property, he never failed to call on us when he wanted our aſſiſtance. However, before I take leave of the

ſubject, let me mention, that when Luis Ponce de Leon came to ſuperſede Cortes, we went to the general, to requeſt that he would give us ſome part of that property which his Majeſty had at that time ordered that he ſhould reſign. He then told us, and ſwore it, that if he returned to his government he would provide for us all, and not do as he had done, for which he was very ſorry. As if we were to be ſatisfied with promiſes and ſmooth words.

There had lately arrived certain officers of his Majeſty from Old Caſtille, amongſt whom were Alonzo de Eſtrada the treaſurer, Gonzalo de Salazar the factor, Rodrigo Albornos the contador, (Juan de Alderete being dead) Pedro Almindes Chirinos the veedor, and many others.

One Rodrigo Rangel, whom I have already mentioned, now came to Cortes, telling him that he had hitherto acquired no fame in the wars, and wiſhed to have a command given him, wherewith to go and conquer the Zapotecans, who were in rebellion, and to take with him Pedro de Ircio as his private counſellor and director. Cortes knew very well this man was not fit for any ſervice, being a poor, diſeaſed, miſerable object, from the effects of his ſins; he therefore put him off, telling him that nation was not eaſily to be conquered, on account of the high, rugged mountains which they inhabit, and which are always covered with miſts and clouds; as alſo that cavalry could not be

be brought againſt them, on account of the bad and narrow roads which it was neceſſary to climb like ladders, each ſoldier's head at the heels of his file leader. However, at laſt Cortes agreed to the propoſal of this man, who was a fellow of a very ſlanderous tongue, and one whom he would have been glad to have got rid of in this way, where he was likely to loſe his life. The general in conſequence wrote to ten or twelve of us who were in Guacacualco, deſiring that we ſhould go with him, and I was one of the number thus ſelected. Theſe Indians are a light and very active people, and when in the field have a way of whiſtling and ſhouting which makes the hills and woods reſound again. Having this man with us, it was impoſſible to effect any thing, and, as we advanced under a very heavy rain, we came to a village of ſcattered houſes, ſome being upon a ridge, and others in the valley. Poor Rangel whined and complained all the way of the pain of his limbs, to our great annoyance, knowing it was entirely uſeleſs trouble and danger, and that the Indians who were ſo nimble would deſtroy us climbing the rocks in one file, if they made a ſtand anywhere. It was at laſt agreed, as Rangel grew worſe and worſe, to abandon the black expedition, as we uſed to call it, and return to our homes. His counſellor alſo, as he called him, Pedro de Ircio, was the firſt to adviſe him to it, and, ſetting the example by following his own advice, went home to his town of Villa Rica. Rangel however preferred accompanying us to Guacacualco, which was more grief to us than going

going with him in his expedition. He had hopes that the hot climate of that country, as he ſaid, would relieve him of his pains.

No ſooner had we arrived at this place than he took in his head to go upon an expedition againſt the Indians of Cimaton and Tatupatan, who were rebellious, for they thought themſelves ſecure among their great rivers and trembling marſhes. They were alſo formidable warriors, uſing very large and ſtrong bows. Rangel however produced his commiſſion from Cortes, and we dare not but to obey and march with him, to the number of one hundred horſe and foot. We accordingly ſet out, and arrived at a paſs between the marſhes and lakes, where the whole force of the Indians was drawn up to receive us, having made circular barricades of very groſs timber, with ſpike holes to ſhoot through, and paliſadoes. Here they gave us a hearty welcome with a flight of arrows, and darts, killing ſeven horſes, and wounding Rangel and eight ſoldiers. We had often told him what ſtout warriors theſe Indians were, and, as he was a prating fellow, he now exclaimed, by heaven, if he had believed us, he would not have been in that jeopardy now, and that in future we, the old conquerors of the country, ſhould be his captains, and not he ours. As ſoon as our wounded men and horſes were dreſſed, he begged I would go forward to reconnoitre. I took with me a very fierce greyhound which belonged to him, and, ſelecting two other ſoldiers for my comrades,

comrades, defired the infantry to follow us clofe, and for Rangel and the cavalry, that they ſhould keep a good diſtance in the rear. Purſuing our route towards Cimaton, we fell in with another poſt fortified like the preceding one, and defended as ſtrongly, from whence we received a volley, which killed the dog, and wounded me and each of my comrades. I received an arrow in my leg, and ſeven more remained in my cotton armour. I called immediately to ſome of our Indian allies who were a little in rear of us, to go and bring up all the infantry, but to order the cavalry not to advance, as all their horſes would ſurely be killed. When the infantry came up we attacked the barricades, and forced the Indians from them, driving them to their marſhes, where it was impoſſible to follow them a ſtep, without danger of ſinking and being ſmothered. We then advanced, and halted at a village. On the next day we proceeded, and were encountered by a large body of Indians, poſted in a marſh. This was an inſtance of the addreſs of the natives, in chooſing to meet us in the plain, hoping that they could draw our cavalry to charge them, in expectation that galloping full ſpeed they ſhould run into the marſh: and ſo it happened; for in ſpite of all we could ſay to Rangel of their art and ſtratagem, and how neceſſary it was to be wary, he ran his cavalry full at them, and tumbled in himſelf the firſt, head foremoſt into the marſh, where the Indians began to cloſe upon him, in order to ſeize him alive for ſacrifice.

By

By great exertions we got him, badly wounded, out of their hands, half drowned, and his poor fore head expoſed and broken. As this country is very populous, we found a village hard by, whither we went to take repoſe and dreſs the wounded. It was abandoned on our approach, but we had hardly been there a quarter of an hour when we were attacked with ſuch violence, that in the firſt onſet they killed one of our ſoldiers and two horſes, and we had much to do to drive them off. All this time Rangel was complaining of his wounds and bruiſes, and the moſquitos got about him in clouds. The vermin alſo, with which that country is infeſted, bit him to ſuch a degree that his life was inſupportable, for he could get no reſt day or night, and the rain fell inceſſantly. He, and ſome of Garay's ſoldiers whom he had brought with him, ſeeing that nothing had been got but three very hard fought battles, and that eleven horſes and two ſoldiers had been killed, and many more wounded, began to grow very ſick of the buſineſs, and to wiſh to be quickly at home. But Rangel did not wiſh to have it appear that this retreat was a choice of his, and therefore ſummoned a council of ſuch as he knew were of his own opinion.

About twenty of us had at this time gone to ſee if we could make any priſoners among ſome gardens and plantations hard by: we took five, and on my return Rangel called me aſide and told me that the council had determined to retreat, deſiring me to bring

bring over the reſt to it. Having known the man before, I had a kindneſs for him. How, ſir, ſaid I to him, can you now think of returning? What will Cortes and the world ſay of you, when they hear of your retreat without effecting any thing in theſe two expeditions? You ſurely cannot think of returning till you have reached the head town of theſe Indians! I will go forward on foot and reconnoitre with the infantry. Give my horſe to another ſoldier, and do you follow in the rear with the cavalry. By heavens, cries out Rangel, (for he was a very loud talker) Bernal Diaz gives good advice; the lot is caſt, and we will march on. This was accordingly done, contrary to the inclination of ſeveral, and we advanced in good order to Cimaton, the principal town, where we were ſaluted as uſual with a flight of arrows, and then, on entry, found it abandoned. We burned it in part, and took ſeveral Indians, whom we diſmiſſed, deſiring them to invite their neighbours to peace and amity; but thoſe we ſent never returned to us. This enraged Rangel againſt me, and he ſwore I ſhould procure him Indians in the place of thoſe who had been liberated. To pacify him I was fain to go with thirty ſoldiers, and we picked up ſome among the marſhes, whom I brought to him, and he diſmiſſed, in hopes of inducing the reſt to come in, but without effect. Thus ended the famous expedition againſt the Zapotecans, and ſuch was all the fame Rangel acquired in the wars. In two years afterwards we effected the conqueſt of theſe countries, the natives whereof

whereof were converted to our holy faith, through the grace of God, and the exertions of the reverend father Bartholome de Olmedo, who, poor man, was at that time grown weak and infirm. Pity it was, for he was an excellent miniſter of the goſpel.

Cortes had now collected eighty thouſand crowns in gold; and a golden culverin, which he named the Phœnix, and had cauſed to be made as a preſent for the Emperor, was finiſhed. It was a ſuperb piece of workmanſhip. The following motto was engraved on it:

"Eſta Ave nacio ſin par; Yo en ſervir os ſin ſegundo;
"Y vos ſin igual en el Mundo."

"The immortal Phœnix peerleſs ſweeps the air;—
"To Charles is given boundleſs rule to bear.—
"Zealous to conquer, at my king's command,
"I in my ſervices unrivall'd ſtand."

This preſent was ſent to Europe under the care of Diego de Soto. I am not certain if J. de Ribera, formerly ſecretary to Cortes, went with it. I always thought him a bad kind of man, from what I obſerved in him at play, either with cards or dice: beſides this, he had many ill qualities.

He however was ſent to Caſtille, and took a ſum of money with him for the general's father; which money he appropriated to his own uſe, and then, unmindful

mindful of the obligations he had received, ſaid much ill of Cortes; and being very flippant and fluent of ſpeech, and having been his ſecretary, he obtained credit for what he ſaid, and, combining with the biſhop of Burgos and others, did him much harm; and would have done more had it not been for the interference of the duke of Bejar, who protected Cortes on account of a treaty of marriage, which was then on foot, between our general and a neice of that duke, named Donna Juana de Zuniga. This, combined with the ſeaſonable arrival of the preſent, gave a favourable turn to the affairs of Cortes.

In regard to the golden Phœnix, I muſt obſerve, that the motto gave great offence to many, as they thought it preſumption in Cortes to ſay he had no equal in his ſervices. But his friends juſtly defended him; for who had extended ſo far the fame and power of his Majeſty, or brought ſo many thouſands of ſouls to the dominion of our holy church? They alſo did not forget us his aſſociates, but declared that we alſo were entitled to honours and emoluments, having earned them, as the Caſtillian nobility did thoſe enjoyed by their deſcendants.

As to the culverin, it went no farther than the city of Seville; his Majeſty was pleaſed to make a preſent of it to Don Franciſco de los Cobos, commendador major of Leon, who melted it down. Its value amounted to twenty thouſand ducats.

A ſuit was commenced by Martin Cortes againſt Ribera, on account of the money of which the latter had defrauded him. While it was yet pending, and as Ribera was on a journey, he ſtopped to dine at the town of Cadahalſa, where, eating ſome broiled meat, he fell down dead ſuddenly, and without confeſſion. God pardon his ſins! Amen.

Cortes continued to rebuild and embelliſh the city of Mexico. It was now as well peopled by the natives as it had ever been before. He gave them privileges, exempting them from all tribute to his Majeſty until their houſes were completed, as alſo the cauſeways, bridges, public edifices, and aqueducts. In the Spaniſh quarter, churches and hoſpitals were erected, under the care of the good father Bartholome de Olmedo, as vicar and ſuperior. This reverend father had alſo eſtabliſhed an hoſpital for the natives, to whom he paid the utmoſt attention.

In compliance with our petition to his Majeſty, as formerly related, Don Franciſco de los Angeles, general of the Franciſcans, ſent twelve of his order under the vicarage of father Martin de Valencia. Amongſt them came father Toribio de Motolinea: this ſurname, the meaning of which is, The Poor Brother, was given him by the Mexicans, becauſe all that he got in charity he diſtributed in the ſame manner, and was frequently without a morſel to eat. He alſo always went barefooted, and wore a tattered habit,

habit, and conſtantly preaching to the natives, was very popular among them. As ſoon as Cortes was informed of their arrival at Villa Rica, he gave directions for the road to Mexico to be put in good order, houſes to be built at proper ſtations for them to refreſh in, and the inhabitants of all the towns to go out to receive them with reverence, ringing the bells, bearing crucifixes and lighted wax candles, and the Spaniards to kneel down and kiſs their hands. When they approached Mexico, he went out to meet them, and as ſoon as they appeared, Cortes threw himſelf from his horſe to kiſs the hands of the reverend viçar. When the natives ſaw the general on his knees to thoſe reverend fathers, with bare feet and in tattered habits, they were aſtoniſhed, and, conſidering them as gods, they all followed his example, and have continued to do ſo ever ſince.

Cortes at this time thought it neceſſary to inform his Majeſty of his proceedings in the converſion of the natives, the rebuilding of the city, and the expedition which he had ſent againſt the province of Honduras under the command of De Oli, who had deſerted, and embraced the party of Velaſquez, on which account he had determined to ſend a force againſt him. He alſo complained of the proceedings of Velaſquez, and of the injury his Majeſty's ſervice had ſuſtained thereby, as alſo by the partiality of the biſhop of Burgos. He remitted at the ſame time thirty thouſand crowns in gold to his Majeſty's treaſury,

ſury, and lamented the unfortunate effects of thoſe abuſes, as having prevented him from making an ampler contribution of gold. He at the ſame time complained of one Rodrigo de Albornos, contador in Mexico, who aſperſed him from private motives, becauſe he had refuſed to give him in marriage the daughter of the Indian lord of Tezcuco, adding, that he underſtood that this Albornos was attached to the intereſt of the biſhop of Burgos, and was accuſtomed to write to him in cyphers.

At this time the news of the biſhop's removal had not reached Mexico. Albornos, before mentioned, ſent by the ſame veſſel his accuſations againſt Cortes, charging him with levying exceſſive contributions of gold for his own uſe: that he was fortifying caſtles, and marrying the daughters of great lords to his private ſoldiers, inſinuating that Cortes was endeavouring to ſet himſelf up as an independent king, and ſtrongly repreſenting the neceſſity of ſending an officer with a great force, to ſuperſede him. Theſe letters came to the hands of the biſhop of Burgos, who laid them before the whole junto of the enemies of Cortes, and this new matter was immediately brought before his Majeſty. They complained of the partiality which they alledged was ſhewn towards him on former occaſions, and his Majeſty, deceived by theſe miſrepreſentations, which were enforced by the bold and lofty tone of Narvaez, now iſſued an order for the admiral of St. Domingo to go with

with ſix hundred ſoldiers to arreſt Cortes, and make him anſwer, if he found him culpable, with his head; alſo to puniſh all thoſe of us who had been concerned in the attack upon Narvaez. As an encouragement, this officer was promiſed the admiralty of New Spain, the right of which was now under litigation in the courts.

The admiral, either from want of money, or being apprehenſive of ſerious conſequences from committing himſelf againſt ſo able and ſo ſucceſsful a leader as Cortes, delayed ſetting out upon his expedition ſo long, that it gave time to the friends and agents of Cortes to make a full explanation of the circumſtances, and alſo of the conduct of Albornos, to the duke of Bejar, who immediately went to wait upon the Emperor, to repreſent the true ſtate of the caſe, and to offer his life as a ſecurity for the loyalty and good conduct of Cortes.

His Majeſty, being upon due conſideration convinced of the juſtice of our cauſe, determined to ſend a perſon of high quality and ſound judgment, and one who feared the Lord, to hold a ſupreme court of juſtice in New Spain. Such a perſon he found in the licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon, couſin to the count Don Martin de Cordova. To him his Majeſty entruſted the buſineſs of inquiry into the conduct of Cortes, with full power to inflict the greateſt puniſhment,

punishment, in case he should find him guilty. It was however two years and an half before this gentleman arrived in New Spain.

I have now gone beyond the date of my narrative two years in advance, to inform the reader of this circumstance; and I may now also mention, that during the viceroyalty of Don Anthonio de Mendoza, that most illustrious nobleman, worthy of eternal memory and heavenly glory, for his wise and just government; this same Albornos wrote slanderous and malignant letters of him, as he had done before of Cortes. The letters which related to Don Anthonio were all returned from Castille, into the hands of that nobleman, and when he had read them, with all the personal abuse of himself that they contained, he sent for Albornos, and, shewing them to him, said, in his mild and slow manner of speaking, "Whenever you choose to make me the subject of your letters to his Majesty, mind that in future you tell the truth; and now go about your business, for a knave as you are." Thus he left the contador, overwhelmed with confusion.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VII.

Expedition of Cortes to Higueras.

DE OLI I have already mentioned as having revolted. When Cortes received intelligence of this, it made him very penſive; but, as he was one not to be trifled with in ſuch caſes, he determined to ſend a gentleman who was his relation, by name Franciſco de las Caſas, with five ſhips, and one hundred well provided ſoldiers, having with them ſome of the original veteran conquerors of Mexico.

Las Caſas ſet out from the port of Vera Cruz, with his good ſhips, and his pendants flying, and with fair winds arrived at the bay named El Triumpho de la Cruz, where De Oli had eſtabliſhed his poſt. Although Las Caſas hoiſted the ſignal of peace, De Oli determined upon making reſiſtance, and, embarking a number of ſoldiers in two armed veſſels, he ſent them to oppoſe Las Caſas, who, being a brave man, was determined to land at all events; he therefore ordered out his boats, and, arming them with ſwivels and muſketry, attacked the other party, and ſunk one of their veſſels, killing four ſoldiers, and wounding many. When De Oli ſaw this, he thought it adviſable to propoſe terms of peace, for a conſiderable part of his ſoldiers were detached up the country, in ſearch

ſearch of another body of troops which was making conqueſts there, about the river Pechin. This laſt mentioned party was commanded by a captain Gil Gonzalez de Avila.

De Oli, as I have already related, being in expectation of the return of his detachment, wiſhed for a truce with Las Caſas, which the latter, for his misfortune, agreed to, and remained at ſea, partly in the intention of looking out for ſome other place of diſembarkation, and partly induced by letters from the friends of Cortes who were in the troops commanded by De Oli. On that night a hard gale ſprung up, by which our veſſels were driven on ſhore and entirely loſt, with above thirty of the ſoldiers. The reſt were made priſoners, after being two days without food, and almoſt dying with cold, being thoroughly ſoaked in the ſalt water, and with rain, which at that ſeaſon fell very heavily. De Oli was very triumphant on this occaſion. He made his priſoners ſwear fidelity to him againſt Cortes, releaſing them all except Las Caſas. The parties he had ſent out againſt Gonzalez de Avila returned about this time. It ſeems that Avila came there as governor of Golfo Dolce, and had founded a town which he named St. Gil de Buena Viſta. De Oli on hearing of it ſent his troops againſt him, who in their firſt attack had taken Avila priſoner, killed his nephew, and alſo eight of his ſoldiers. De Oli was now in great ſtate, with two captains as his priſoners; and, that all might know

know his valour, which certainly was very great ſo far as his own perſon was concerned, he wrote a full account of his exploits to his friend Velaſquez. He afterwards marched up the country to a place called Naco, in a very populous diſtrict, the whole of which is now deſtroyed. While De Oli remained here, he ſent out troops on different excurſions; among others he ſent a party under one captain Briones, who was the firſt to inſtigate him to revolt. He was a ſeditious fellow, and the lower parts of his ears had been cut off, as he uſed to tell us, for refuſing, together with other officers, to ſurrender themſelves in a certain fortreſs. This man was afterwards hanged in Guatimala for mutiny. To return to my narrative: intelligence came to De Oli, that Briones with his whole body had revolted from him, and gone to New Spain; which turned out to be the caſe.

Las Caſas and De Avila being at large, though priſoners, (for De Oli was too brave to be under any apprehenſions from them) concerted a plan with ſome ſoldiers to put him to death, the ſignal for which was to be the words, "To me, friends of the King and Cortes; kill the tyrant!" Las Caſas, half in jeſt as it were, and laughing, then aſked him for liberty to return to Cortes; to which De Oli replied that he was too happy to have ſo brave a man for his companion, and did not chooſe to part with him. "Then," ſaid Las Caſas in the ſame manner, "take care that one of theſe days I do not kill you." All

this the other conſidered as a joke; but the meaſures were taken, and one night after ſupper, when the cloths were taken away, and the ſervants and pages had ſat down in their apartment, as Juan Nunez de Mercado and other ſoldiers of the party of Cortes, Las Caſas, and Avila, were converſing with De Oli upon the affairs of Mexico, and the fortune of Cortes, he being entirely unſuſpicious of their deſigns, the conſpirators ſuddenly drew out penknives and fell upon him. Las Caſas ſeizing him by the beard made a cut at his throat, and the others gave him ſeveral wounds; but ſuch was his ſtrength and activity of body, that he eſcaped out of their hands for the preſent, calling aloud to his people for aſſiſtance, but they were all too buſily employed at their ſuppers to hear him. He then fled, and concealed himſelf among ſome buſhes, in hopes of aſſiſtance. Many were in the act of coming to him for the purpoſe, but were deterred by the cries of Las Caſas not to aſſiſt the tyrant, but to rally on the ſide of their King and his general Cortes. They firſt heſitated, and then obeyed; and Las Caſas immediately gave notice, that whoever knew where De Oli was, and did not immediately reveal it, ſhould ſuffer death. Information was ſoon given, in conſequence of which he was made priſoner, and, by ſentence of the two captains, beheaded in the town of Naco, thus paying with his life for having followed evil counſels; being a very brave man, but of no foreſight. Cortes had conferred many favours on him; he held a commiſſion of Maeſtre de Campo, had

valuable

valuable eſtates, and was married to Donna Philippa de Aranja, a handſome Portugueſe lady, by whom he had one daughter.

Las Caſas and Avila, being now free and their enemy dead, joined their troops together, and acted in concert. Las Caſas colonized Truxillo in Eſtremadura; Avila ſent a meſſage to his lieutenant in Buena Viſta, ordering him to remain as he was, and that he ſhould ſhortly receive reinforcement, which he was going to requeſt from Cortes at Mexico. The two captains having ſet out for that city, I will now take my leave of them for the preſent.

Cortes, in ſome months after the departure of Las Caſas, began to grow apprehenſive of a diſaſter; not that he entertained the leaſt doubt of the valour or conduct of that officer, but he repented, under the circumſtances of the caſe, that he had not taken the command himſelf. He was alſo anxious to examine the ſtate of that province, more eſpecially its mines, and for theſe reaſons now determined to ſet out upon his journey thither. He appointed a good garriſon to take charge of the city of Mexico during his abſence, and provided the different poſts with artillery, leaving as his deputies in the government, the treaſurer Alonzo de Eſtrada, and the contador Albornoz. Cortes did not know the ſecret ſervices the latter had been rendering him at court, or he probably would not have left him in power, although, on the other hand, it

it is poſſible that he could not have avoided it. He appointed the licentiate Zuazo alguazil major of the city, and, as alguazil major and agent in his private concerns, Rodrigo de Paz. To theſe he ſtrongly inſiſted on the ſtricteſt attention, both to the intereſt of his Majeſty, and the converſion of the natives. This he alſo recommended to the worthy fathers Motolinea and Olmedo, both holy men.

In order to deprive the Mexicans of chiefs, in caſe they ſhould attempt to riſe, he took with him Guatimotzin the late king, the chief of Tacuba, Velaſquez, an Indian, and captain under Guatimotzin, and ſeveral others. There came alſo with us Fra. Juan de las Varillas, another clergyman, two reverend fathers, Flemings, and good theologians, to preach the faith; and the captains De Sandoval and Luis Marin, with many other cavaliers. The ſuite, or officers who attended the perſon of Cortes, were as follows: a ſteward and paymaſter, a keeper of the plate, a major domo, two ſtewards of the houſehold, a butler, a confectioner, a chamberlain, a phyſician, a ſurgeon, a number of pages of his houſehold, amongſt whom was D. Franciſco de Montejo, afterwards captain in Yucatan, two armour bearers, eight grooms, two falconers, five muſicians, a ſtage dancer, a juggler and puppet player, a maſter of the horſe, three Spaniſh muleteers. The general brought a great ſervice of gold and ſilver plate, and a large drove of ſwine for his

his table followed, feeding by the way. Three thouſand Mexican warriors attended their chiefs, beſides a numerous train of domeſtics.

When the party was on the point of ſetting out, the factor Salazar, and the veedor Chirinos, either ſeeing or affecting to ſee much danger likely to reſult from Cortes quitting the ſeat of government, and finding alſo that they had not been left in any ſtation during his abſence, remonſtrated with him, but finding it to be no purpoſe, they then requeſted permiſſion to accompany him as far as Guacacualco. To this he gave his conſent, and they accordingly ſet out. Cortes was received in all the places upon his way with ſuch pomp and rejoicing as is not in my power to deſcribe. Above fifty ſoldiers and ſtraggling travellers newly arrived from Caſtille joined him upon the road, and the general divided his troops in two parties, until their arrival at Guacacualco, for the greater convenience of obtaining proviſions.

During the journey, the veedor and factor kept themſelves cloſe to Cortes, eſpecially the latter, playing a hundred tricks of ſervility and obſequiouſneſs, and every word he ſpoke he was cap in hand, and with his fluent ſpeech, and ſmooth words, as it were trying to get him back to Mexico, and expreſſing his ſolicitude for his ſafety. Sometimes when he was riding by the ſide of the general he would ſing, "Ay

"tio

"tio bolvamonos, ay tio bolvamonos." Then Cortes would laugh at him, and reply, ſinging,

"Adelante mi ſobrino, adelante mi ſobrino,
"Y no creais in agueros, que ſera lo que dios quiſiere,
"Adelante mi ſobrino."

"Oh good uncle let us return.
"Forward, dear nephew, forward,
"Truſt in God, and never heed auguries."

Quitting the ſubject of our factor and his delicate ſpeeches, I have now to mention how a marriage took place on the arrival of the party at the town of Ojeda, which is near that of Orizava, between our linguiſt, Donna Marina, and Juan Xaramillo. The next place they came to was Guazpaltepeque, in the diſtrict of Sandoval. As ſoon as intelligence reached Guacacualco of the advance of Cortes to Guazpaltepeque, all the Spaniards of that ſettlement came thirty-three leagues to receive him. This I mention that the reader may ſee what fear and reſpect he was held in by us. Proceeding beyond the place laſt mentioned, in croſſing a large river, fortune began to frown upon us, for three of our canoes overſet, whereby ſome plate and other valuables were loſt; for that river is ſo full of alligators that there was no recovering any thing. Paſſing Illuta, when we came to the river by Guacacualco we found three hundred canoes faſtened two and two to carry us over; here we were received under triumphal arches, and with various feſtivities repreſenting

repreſenting ſkirmiſhes of Chriſtians and Moors, together with fireworks and other ſhows of that kind.

Here Cortes remained ſix days, during which time the factor was continually ſounding in his ears the burthen of his old ſong. He alſo told him of ſecret practices of the contador and the treaſurer, (who boaſted that he was the ſon of his Catholic Majeſty) and in ſhort a number of ſtories, the drift of all which was, to induce Cortes to ſuperſede the preſent deputies, and put him and the veedor in their places. In this he too well ſucceeded; for by his arts he obtained from the general a deputation for himſelf and his aſſociate the veedor, to hold the government of Mexico, in caſe they ſhould judge that the preſent deputies failed in their duty. Theſe intrigues cauſed much trouble afterwards in Mexico, as I will relate at the proper time. The reverend father blamed Cortes for what he had done, and foreſaw the conſequences that followed. The veedor and factor now took their leaves, with ſuch tenderneſs and affection, the latter pretending to ſob and cry with ſorrow at parting, that it was ridiculous to ſee it. The fellow had, by the tricks of his friend Valiente the ſecretary, got at that time in his pocket the documents he wanted for the furtherance of his views in Mexico, of which, as I before obſerved, I will ſay no more for the preſent, but continue the narrative of our painful journey; for I left this place with the general, and attended him throughout.

Cortes

Cortes now ſent orders to one of his major domos, Simon de Cuenca, at Villa Rica, to freight two light veſſels with biſcuit of maize, (for at that time there was no wheat in New Spain) ſix pipes of wine, oil, vinegar, pork, iron, and other neceſſary articles, and to proceed with them along the coaſt, northward, until he ſhould receive further directions. The general then ordered all the ſettlers of Guacacualco who were fit for ſervice to join his expedition. I have already mentioned how this colony was formed out of the moſt reſpectable hidalgos, and ancient conquerors of the country; and now that we had reaſon to expect to be left in quiet poſſeſſion of our hard earned properties, our houſes and farms, we were obliged to undertake an hoſtile expedition to the diſtance of five hundred leagues, and which took up the time of above two years and a half. But we dared not ſay no, neither would it avail us. We therefore armed ourſelves, and, mounting our horſes, joined the expedition, making in the whole above two hundred and fifty veterans, of whom one hundred and thirty were cavalry, beſides many Spaniards newly arrived from Europe.

I was immediately ordered to march, at the head of thirty Spaniards and three thouſand Mexicans, to a diſtrict named Cimatan, which was in rebellion, with directions to quarter my troops on the natives, and, if I found them ſubmiſſive, to do no farther injury, but if refractory, they were to be ſummoned intelligibly,

intelligibly, three times, in preſence of a royal notary and proper witneſſes, and in caſe they perſiſted, I was to make war on, and compel them to ſubmit. The orders which I received from the general I now have in my poſſeſſion, ſigned and ſealed by him, and counterſigned by his ſecretary, A. Valiente. I found the people peaceable, but in a few months after, in conſequence of the ſettlers of Guacacualco being withdrawn, they broke out again. However, they being in the ſtate that I have mentioned, I made no delay, but ſet out with my detachment to rejoin Cortes at Iquinapa.

The general, with the reſt of his troops, leaving Guacacualco, proceeded to Tonala, croſſed a river to Ayaquahulco, croſſed another river, and, ſeven leagues diſtant an arm of the ſea, upon a bridge of half a quarter of a league in length; a moſt aſtoniſhing work in ſuch a ſituation, and conſtructed by the natives of the country under the inſpection of two captains, ſettlers of Guacacualco. They then proceeded to a large river named Mazapa, which flows by Chiapa, and is named by mariners Rio de dos Bocas; this they croſſed in double canoes, and, proceeding through ſome villages, came to Iquinapa, where my detachment joined them. We then croſſed another river on wooden bridges, alſo an arm of the ſea, and came to a great town named Copilco, where the province

of Chontalpa begins, which was very populous, covered with plantations of cocoa, and perfectly tranquil.

From Copilco we marched to Nicaxuxuica, and to Zagutan, paſſing another river, in which the general loſt ſome articles of his baggage. The laſt mentioned town was found by us in a ſtate of peace, but the inhabitants fled during the night. Cortes ordered parties out to ſearch the woods and make priſoners, which was a very inconſiderate thing, and productive of bad conſequences. We found, it is true, after much trouble, ſeven chiefs, and ſome others, but they all made their eſcape from us again during the night, and we were thus left without guides. At this period arrived at our quarters fifty canoes from Tabaſco, loaded with proviſions, alſo ſome from a place named Teapan in my encomienda.

We proceeded on our march to Tepetitan and Iztapa, croſſing a great river named Chilapa, at which we were detained four days making barks. I propoſed to Cortes to ſend five of our Indian guides to a town of the ſame name, which I underſtood to be on the banks of this river, to deſire the people to aſſiſt us with their canoes. Cortes aſſented, and it was done. We procured ſix large canoes, and alſo proviſions. We were four days in paſſing.

From

From this we went on to Tepetitan, which was depopulated and burnt in consequence of a civil war. For three days of our march from the river of Chilapa, our horses were almost constantly up to the girths in the marshy grounds which we had to pass. We then reached a place named Iztapa, the inhabitants of which had fled. We sent in search of them, and several chiefs and others were brought in, who, being treated kindly, made the general a present of some trifling articles in gold. We halted here for three days, on account of the plenty of corn and grass. Cortes also approved of it for the scite of a colony, it being surrounded by many towns which might be attached to it as dependencies. From the travelling merchants here, Cortes obtained information as to his future route, producing to them a map painted on cloth, whereon was represented the way which he was to take to reach Huyacala, which means Great Acala; it being so called to distinguish it from another place of that name. They told him that the way he was to take was much intersected by rivers, and that in order to reach a place named Tamaztepeque, three days' journey distant, three rivers and an arm of the sea were to be crossed. The general in consequence gave orders to the chiefs to construct bridges at the proper places, and also to bring canoes; neither of which was obeyed.

The

The three days which the natives aſſured us the journey would take up, turned out to be no leſs than ſeven; but they ſucceeded in getting rid of us, and we ſet out, provided only with roaſted maize and roots ſufficient for three days. We were obliged to conſtruct bridges of timber, at which all laboured, from the general downwards, which detained us three days, during which time we had nothing to eat but a certain wild plant named Quexquexque, which inflames the mouth and tongue. When we had croſſed this inlet we found no road whatever, and we were obliged to open our way through the woods, as it were, ſword in hand. After labouring thus for two days in hopes of reaching the place which we were in ſearch of, we became totally in deſpair. The trees were ſo thick that we could not ſee the ſun, and when we aſcended to the top of one we could not diſcover to any diſtance. Of our three guides alſo two had fled, and the third was incapable of rendering any ſervice. Cortes, whoſe reſources were inexhauſtible, guided himſelf by a mariner's compaſs, and by his Indian map, according to which, the town we were in queſt of lay to the eaſt. Cortes himſelf was however forced to acknowledge, that if we were one day more without diſcovering it, he did not know what we ſhould do.

Fortunately we at this time perceived the remains of trees which had been formerly cut, and alſo a ſmall lane or path; and Lopez the pilot and I return-

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ed to report our diſcovery to the general. Our news revived the ſpirits of the army, and we puſhed forward to a village on the oppoſite ſide of a river, where, though the inhabitants had abandoned it, we found ſufficiency of proviſions for ourſelves and our horſes. Parties were immediately ſent out in queſt of the natives, and they ſoon returned, bringing with them many chiefs and prieſts, who, being well treated, procured us a plentiful ſupply of proviſions, and pointed out our way to Izguantepeque, which was three days' journey, or ſixteen leagues diſtant, from this town of Tamaztepeque. During our journey hither we loſt our ſtage dancer by fatigue, as alſo three of the newly arrived Spaniards, and many of the Mexicans were left to die upon the road. It came alſo to be diſcovered that ſome of their chiefs had ſeized two or three of the natives of the places through which we paſſed, and concealed them with the baggage, until through hunger they had killed and eaten them, dreſſing the bodies in their manner, which is, by a kind of oven made with heated ſtones which are put under ground. On inquiry it was alſo found out that they had done the ſame with two of our guides who had fled from us, but were retaken. Cortes ſeverely reprehended all thoſe concerned, and one of the reverend father Franciſcans preached a holy and wiſe ſermon on the occaſion, after which, by way of example, the general cauſed one, againſt whom it was moſt clearly proved, to be burnt; for though all were equally guilty, yet in the preſent circumſtances

cumſtances one example was judged ſufficient. As for our poor muſicians with their inſtruments, their ſackbuts, and dulcimers, they felt the loſs of the regales and feaſts of Caſtille, and now their harmony was ſtopt, excepting one only, whom the ſoldiers uſed to curſe whenever he ſtruck up, ſaying it was maize, and not muſic, that they wanted. Some perſons have aſked me how it happened, that ſince neceſſity has no law, we did not, rather than ſtarve, lay our hands on the herd of pigs which Cortes brought with him. To this I reply, that they were not within our ſight or reach, and the general's ſteward, who was a ſly, artful fellow, ſaid that they had all been eaten by the alligators in croſſing the river. But in reality they had them four days' march behind the army. On our route we made croſſes in the living trees, and put inſcriptions on them, ſaying, "Here paſſed Cortes and his army at ſuch a time."

The Indians of Tamaiztepeque ſent forward to our next ſtation, Ciguatepecad, to inform the people of our approach, and remove their apprehenſions. They alſo, to the number of twenty, attended us thither, where, being arrived and halted, Cortes was anxious to know the courſe of a large river which flows by that town. Upon inquiry he found that it diſcharged itſelf in certain inlets of the ſea, near the towns named Gueyataſta, and Xicalango, and thereby he thought that he could conveniently ſend two Spaniards to the north coaſt, to obtain information relative to his ſhips.

ſhips. One of his meſſengers was Franciſco de Medina, to whom he gave a joint commiſſion of captain with Simon de Cuenca, his officer whom he had employed to freight and command the ſhips. De Medina was an able and diligent man, and well acquainted with the country: it would have been better however on the preſent occaſion if he had not been entruſted with ſuch powers, as will appear. De Medina, having gone down the river to meet the veſſels, and having arrived at Xicalonga, where they were at anchor waiting to hear from Cortes, preſented the general's letters to Cuenca, and alſo produced his own commiſſion as captain. A diſpute immediately enſued between theſe two officers relative to the chief command, and each being ſupported by a party, they had recourſe to arms, and fought until there were not eight Spaniards on both ſides left alive. When the neighbouring Indians perceived this, they fell upon the ſurvivors, put them to death, and deſtroyed the two ſhips, ſo that we did not, for two years and a half, know what was become of them.

We were informed, at our preſent quarters, that the town of Gueyacala was diſtant three days' march from us, and that our way was acroſs deep rivers and trembling marſhes. Cortes accordingly ſent two ſoldiers to examine them, who, ſounding and trying the rivers, came back and reported that they were paſſable by conſtructing wooden bridges acroſs them, but as to the marſhes, which lay more diſtant, and

which

which were the moſt material, they made no examination at all. Cortes alſo ſent me and one Gonzalo de Mexia forward to Gueyacala, with ſome guides who offered themſelves, from our preſent quarters. We ſet out accordingly, but in the night our Indians left us, for it ſeemed that the two nations were at war, and we were now forced to rely entirely on ourſelves. When we arrived at the firſt town belonging to the diſtrict of Gueyacala, which is the chief over about twenty others, the inhabitants of it ſhewed ſome ſigns of jealouſy, but we ſoon reconciled them. This diſtrict is much interſected by lakes, rivers, and trembling marſhes. Some of the dependent towns are in iſlands, and all the communication is by canoes. We invited the chiefs to go and wait upon Cortes, but this they declined, on account of the hoſtility between the two nations. It ſeems that on the firſt day of our arrival they had no idea of our force, but on the next they had received further intelligence concerning it, and treated us with more deference. They promiſed that they would provide every accommodation for our people on their arrival, and while we were engaged in diſcourſe with them on theſe ſubjects, two Spaniards ſent by Cortes brought me letters, wherein he ordered that I ſhould within three days meet him with all the proviſions that I could collect, for that he had been deſerted by the natives, and was on his way to Gueyacala without any neceſſaries whatever. Theſe Spaniards alſo informed me, that four of our ſoldiers, who had been detached by Cortes

tes higher up the river, had not returned, and were ſuppoſed to be murdered, as afterwards appeared to be the caſe.

Cortes purſued his march, and was for four days employed in conſtructing his bridge acroſs the great river, during which time the army ſuffered dreadfully from hunger, having left their laſt quarters without any proviſions whatever. Some old ſoldiers cut down trees reſembling the palm, and procured nuts, which they roaſted and eat: a very poor reſource for ſo many. On the night that the bridge was finiſhed I arrived with one hundred and thirty loads of corn, honey, fruit, and ſalt, and eighty fowls. It was dark, and Cortes had made mention of his expectation of my arrival. The conſequence was, that the ſoldiers waited for me, and immediately laid violent hands on every atom of proviſions which I had brought, not leaving any thing for Cortes or the other officers. The general's ſteward and major domo cried out, "This is for the general," and "Do not touch that," but it was to no avail: the ſoldiers ſaid that the general and the others had been eating their hogs, while the poor ſoldiers were famiſhing; and neither entreaties nor arguments could induce them to leave him ſo much as a ſingle load of corn. Cortes loſt all patience when he heard of it, and ſwore that he would make inquiry and puniſh thoſe who had committed the outrage, and who had talked about the hogs. But he ſoon found that this was merely crying in the deſert.

He then blamed me, but I told him that a guard ſhould have been appointed to receive the proviſions when they were brought in, for that hunger knows no law. As he ſaw there was no remedy, he returned to me, and, captain De Sandoval being preſent, addreſſed me with good words, ſaying, "My dear friend Del Caſtillo, I am ſure that you have left ſomething behind you on the road for yourſelf and our friend here; do let us go together, and permit me to ſhare it with you." Sandoval alſo ſaid that he vowed to his God he had not ſo much as a handful of maize. When thus applied to I could not refuſe them. "Well," ſaid I, "when the ſoldiers are all aſleep, come with me, and take ſhares of what I provided for myſelf and thoſe with me;" which was, twelve loads of maize, twenty fowls, three jars of honey, fruits, and ſalt; I had alſo ſome women to make bread. They both thanked and embraced me, and ſo we eſcaped famine for this time. Cortes inquired how the reverend fathers had fared; but there was no cauſe of apprehenſion for them, as each ſoldier gave them a portion of what he had obtained. Such are the hardſhips attendant upon expeditions in unexplored countries! Our general, feared as he was by the ſoldiers, had his proviſions pillaged, and was in danger of ſtarving, and captain De Sandoval would not truſt any one, but went himſelf to get his ration from me. On continuing our march, when we had advanced about a league from the river, we came to thoſe deſperate trembling marſhes. Here our horſes were

were near being all ſmothered; but as the diſtance was not above half a bow ſhot between the firm ground on each ſide, we contrived to draw them through it by main force, and when we had gotten acroſs, after returning thanks to God, Cortes ſent to Gueyacala for a freſh ſupply of proviſions, of which he took care not to be plundered as on the former occaſion, and on the enſuing day the whole of our party arrived, at an early hour, in the town of Gueyacala, where the chiefs attended, and had made ample preparations for our reception.

Cortes, having done whatever was neceſſary to conciliate the good will of theſe people, inquired of them relative to his future march, and alſo, if they had ever received any intelligence of ſhips being on the coaſt, or of any ſettlement of Europeans there. They told him, that at the diſtance of eight days' journey there were many men with beards like ourſelves, who had horſes, and three ſhips with them. They alſo furniſhed him with a map of his route, and offered their aſſiſtance during the march; but in anſwer to his demand that they would open the way for us, they repreſented to him the diſobedience of ſome of their dependencies, and expreſſed their wiſhes to reduce them to ſubmiſſion by our means. This duty he gave to Diego de Mazariegos, a relation of the treaſurer Alonzo de Eſtrada, as a compliment to him, and, calling me aſide, he deſired that I would attend him upon the occaſion as his counſellor, from my experience

rience in the affairs of the country. This I ſhould not now mention, nor do I as a boaſt, but it is my duty as an hiſtorian, and further, it was well known to the whole army, and his Majeſty was informed of it in the letters written to him by Cortes. About eighty of us went with Mazariegos upon this occaſion. When we arrived, we found the diſtrict in the beſt diſpoſition poſſible; the chiefs returned with us to wait on Cortes, and brought with them a moſt plentiful ſupply of proviſions. In about four days after this, all the native chiefs deſerted us, and we were left with only three guides, to purſue our route, which we did, croſſing two rivers, to another town in the diſtrict of Gueyacala, which we found abandoned.

Here was the ſcene of the death of Guatimotzin, laſt native king of the Mexicans. It appeared that a plot had been entered into by this unfortunate man, together with many others of his nobility, to murder the Spaniards, and return to Mexico; and that, on their arrival, they intended to make a junction of all their forces, and attack the Spaniſh garriſon. Their treaſon was communicated to the general by two lords named Tapia and Juan Velaſquez, who had commanded under Guatimotzin during the ſiege. As ſoon as Cortes got the knowledge of it he took the informations, not only of theſe two, but alſo of ſeveral others concerned. Their confeſſion was, that, perceiving we marched without precaution, that diſcontent prevailed, that many of our ſoldiers were ſick, and proviſions

viſions ſo ſcarce that ten Spaniards had died of hunger abſolutely, and others had returned to Mexico; conſidering alſo the uncertainty of our fate and deſtination; they had decided, that dying at once was preferable to going with us any farther. They had therefore reſolved to try their fortunes, and fall upon us at the paſſage of ſome river or marſh, their numbers being an encouragement to the attempt, as they exceeded three thouſand well armed men. Guatimotzin denied that the whole of the Mexican force was concerned in this plot, or that it would have ever been, to his knowledge, carried into effect. But he admitted that it had been heard, though never approved of, by him. The prince of Tacuba declared that all which had ever paſſed between Guatimotzin and him was, frequent declarations that to loſe their lives at once would be preferable to waſting in the manner they were, in a ſlow death, by hunger and fatigue, and ſeeing the diſtreſſes of their friends ſuffering around them. Without any more proofs whatever, Cortes ordered Guatimotzin and his couſin the prince of Tacuba to be hanged immediately; and, the preparations for the execution being made, they were brought to the place, attended by the reverend fathers. Before he was executed, the king, turning round to Cortes, ſaid, "Malintzin! now I find in what your falſe words and promiſes have ended—in my death. Better that I had fallen by my own hands than truſt myſelf in your power in my city of Mexico. Why do you thus unjuſtly take my life?

May

May God demand of you this innocent blood!" The prince of Tacuba only ſaid that he was happy to die by the ſide of his lawful ſovereign. Thus ended the lives of theſe two great men, and I muſt ſay like good Chriſtians, and for Indians moſt piouſly; and I heartily pitied Guatimotzin and his couſin, having ſeen them in ſuch great fortune and ſituations. They behaved very kindly to me during our march, doing me many ſervices, eſpecially giving me Indians to carry graſs for my horſe; and I alſo declare that they ſuffered their deaths moſt undeſervingly, and ſo it appeared to us all, amongſt whom there was but one opinion upon the ſubject; that it was a moſt unjuſt and cruel ſentence.

We continued our march afterwards with great caution, from apprehenſions of a mutiny among the Mexicans on account of the execution of their chiefs; but the wretches were ſo exhauſted by famine, ſickneſs, and fatigue, that they did not appear even to think about the matter. At night we arrived at a village which was abandoned by the inhabitants, but on ſearching we found eight prieſts, who readily attended us to Cortes. He deſired them to call back their neighbours, and that they ſhould receive no injury. This the prieſts readily promiſed, requeſting, at the ſame time, that their idols, which were in a temple adjoining the building wherein were the quarters of Cortes, ſhould not be touched; which the general agreed to, but took the opportunity of expoſtulating

poſtulating with them upon the abſurdity of venerating what was in reality no more than clay and timber. The prieſts ſeemed very willing to embrace the true doctrine, and brought us twenty loads of fowls and maize. To the queſtion put to them by Cortes, how many days' journey, or ſuns, it was to the place where were the men with beards on their faces, and who rode horſes, they replied, ſeven; that the place was named Nito; and they offered to be our guides thither.

Cortes cauſed a croſs to be fixed in a large ceiba tree cloſe to their temple, which, as I have before mentioned, joined to the building wherein he had taken his quarters. He was at this time very ill tempered and ſad. He was vexed by the difficulties and misfortunes which had attended his march, and his conſcience upbraided him with the death of the unfortunate Guatimotzin. He was ſo diſtracted by theſe thoughts that he could not reſt in his bed at night, and, getting up in the dark to walk about, as a relief from his anxieties, he went into a large apartment where ſome of the idols were worſhipped. Here he miſſed his way, and fell from the height of twelve feet, to the ground, receiving a deſperate wound and contuſions in his head. This circumſtance he tried to conceal, keeping his ſufferings to himſelf, and getting his hurts cured as well as he could.

Quitting

Quitting this place, we arrived in two days at a diſtrict, the people of which are called the Mazotecas, and found a newly built town, fortified and barricaded, with very ſtrong paliſadoes in two circles, one of which was like a barbican, with loop holes, and trenches ſunk before it. The part which was not fortified in this manner was defended by a perpendicular rock, the top of which was piled with ſtones ſhaped for the ſling. It had alſo a parapet, and there was on one ſide of the town an impaſſable marſh. On entry we found every houſe filled with proviſions of whatever kind the country afforded, and a magazine ſtocked with arms of all ſorts, but not a ſingle human being. While we were expreſſing our aſtoniſhment at theſe circumſtances, fifteen Indians came out of the marſh, and, addreſſing us with great ſubmiſſion, informed us that they had been driven to the conſtruction of this fortreſs, as a laſt reſource in an unſucceſsful war, in which they had been engaged with ſome of their neighbours, whom, as well as I recollect, they called the Lazandones. It ſeemed to be a warfare of plunder on each ſide. The name of this diſtrict means in their language a country abounding with game, which it was very well entitled to be called. Two of the Indians attended us from this place, and communicated to Cortes what they knew of the ſettlement of the Spaniards.

We

We now travelled through a country entirely open, conſiſting of vaſt plains without a tree. The heat of the ſun was exceſſive, and the deer which fed over this extenſive range of champaign were innumerable, and ſo tame as almoſt to come to our hands. The horſemen took them after the ſhorteſt purſuit, and we had in a very little ſpace of time above twenty killed. Aſking our guides the reaſon of theſe animals not being alarmed at the approach of men, we found that it was owing to a ſuperſtition of the people, who conſidered them to be divinities, as they ſaid that their gods appeared to them in their forms; and alſo that their idols had commanded that they ſhould be neither killed nor frighetned. The heat of the weather was now ſo great, that a relation of the general's, named Palacios Rubios, loſt his horſe by purſuing the game. Purſuing our journey by villages where war had left its deſtructive marks, we met ſome Indians on their return from hunting. They had with them a huge lion which they had juſt killed, and ſome iguanas, a ſpecies of ſmall ſerpent, very good to eat. They led us to their town, being obliged to wade up to our middles in a lake of freſh water with which it was ſurrounded. In this town was a large pond of freſh water, which was quite full of fiſhes, reſembling what we call in Europe the ſhad fiſh, but enormouſly large, with prickles on their backs. We procured ſome nets, and took above a thouſand, which afforded us a plentiful meal. We alſo procured here five Indians, who, on our inquiry by deſciption for our countrymen,

readily undertook to guide us to their ſettlement, for they at firſt thought that we came to put them to death, and were happy to find that they were likely to be rid of us on ſuch eaſy terms.

We proceeded towards a place named Tayaſal, ſituated on an iſland, the white temples, turrets and houſes of which gliſtened from a diſtance. It was the chief town of a diſtrict. As the road grew very narrow we thought it beſt to halt for the night, four companies of ſoldiers being detached to the ſhore, to ſearch for a paſſage. Luckily they took two canoes, in which were ten men and two women who were conveying ſalt and maize. Being brought to Cortes and queſtioned, they ſaid, that they belonged to the town before us, which was diſtant about four leagues. Cortes detained one canoe and ſome of the people, particularly the women, and ſent the others with two Spaniards to the chief, to demand from him canoes to croſs the water. Our whole party then ſet out towards the river, and arriving there, we found the cacique waiting for us. He invited the general to his town, and Cortes embarked with thirty croſs-bowmen, and, arriving there, was preſented with ſome trifles of gold much alloyed, and a few mantles. They here informed him that they knew of Spaniards being at two different places, one of which it ſeems was Nito, the other San Gil de Buena Viſta. He alſo learned that many more were at Naco, which is up the country and diſtant ten days' journey from Nito, which

which laſt mentioned place lies on the northern coaſt. The general on hearing this obſerved to us, that probably De Oli had divided his force; for as yet we knew nothing of Gil Gonzalez de Avila.

Our whole body having croſſed the river, we halted at the diſtance of two leagues from it, to wait the return of Cortes. Here a Negro, two Indians, and three Spaniſh ſoldiers, deſerted; the latter preferring the taking their chance among enemies, to the repetition of the fatigues they had gone through. This day I was ſun-ſtruck and fell ill of a calenture. The weather alſo at this time changed, and for three days and nights it never ceaſed raining; but we were obliged to continue our journey under it, from the apprehenſion that our proviſions ſhould fall ſhort. After two days' march we came to a ridge of rocks, the ſtones whereof cut like knives; we ſent ſoldiers a league's diſtance on each ſide to ſearch for ſome other road, but to no effect. Our horſes fell here at every ſtep, and cut themſelves to pieces, and the farther we proceeded on the deſcent, the worſe it was. We left eight horſes dead upon the ſpot, and moſt of the reſt were ſo wounded as not to be able to keep up with us. Amongſt others who received hurts, the general's relation Palacios Rubios broke his leg by a fall. We called this place La Sierra de los Pedernales. When we had gotten over it we did not fail to return thanks to God for his mercy in extricating us from that difficulty. We then advanced cheerfully towards

wards a town named Teica, which lay before us, and where we hoped to find a ſufficiency of every thing; but we were ſuddenly and unexpectedly ſtopped by an enormous torrent, which being ſwelled by the heavy rains, came tumbling between great precipices with a noiſe which could be heard at the diſtance of two leagues. Here we were obliged to halt for three complete days, in order to make a bridge from one precipice to the other, and when at the end of the third day we began to paſs over, we found that the people on the other ſide had taken advantage of our delay, to remove themſelves and all their proviſions out of our reach.

When we learned that after all our fatigues hunger was to be our portion, we ſeemed as it were thunderſtruck. I own I never in my life felt my heart ſo depreſſed as when I found nothing to be had for myſelf or my people; and this too on the eve of our Lord's reſurrection! A pretty feſtival we had of it truly! Cortes, after ſending out his ſervants every where, procured about a buſhel of maize. When he ſaw the diſtreſs which we were in, he called together the coloniſts of Guacacualco, as the flower of his army, and earneſtly ſolicited us to do our utmoſt to procure ſome neceſſaries. Pedro de Ircio, who was preſent, aſked to be appointed to the command, to which Cortes aſſented; but I, who knew that De Ircio was more of a talking than a marching ſoldier, and that he would lag by the way and retard us, whiſpered

Cortes

Cortes and Sandoval to prevent his going: for he, being duck legged, could not get through the deep ground and mire like us, and would be obliged to ſit down. Cortes therefore ordered him to ſtay, and five of us, ſetting out together, with two guides, and croſſing rivers and marſhes, came to ſome Indian houſes, where we found proviſions in plenty. Here we alſo took ſome priſoners; and with their fruit, fowls and corn we celebrated the feaſt of the Reſurrection heartily. On the ſame night arrived a thouſand Mexicans, whom Cortes had ordered to follow us. We joyfully loaded them with all the corn that we could procure, and twenty fowls for Cortes and Sandoval; and there ſtill remained ſome corn in the town, which we ſtaid to guard. On the next day we advanced to other villages, where we found ſuch a plenty of corn, that we wrote a billet to Cortes, with ink which we made, and on a piece of a drum head, deſiring him to ſend all the Indians that he could, to carry it to our people.

Thirty ſoldiers, and about five hundred Indians, in a ſhort time arrived, and thus (thanks to God) we were amply provided for the remainder of the five days, during which we ſtaid at Taica. I muſt obſerve, that the bridges, which we conſtructed on this march, remained perfectly good for many years, and that the Spaniards, when they paſſed them, uſed to ſay, "Theſe are the bridges of Cortes," as formerly it uſed to be ſaid, "Here are the pillars of Hercules."

We

We continued our march for two days, to a place named Tania, through a country interſected with rivers and rivulets, and where all the towns were abandoned; and during the night, our guides, being entruſted to the care of ſome of the newly arrived Spaniards, who I ſuppoſe ſlept upon their poſts, made their eſcape. Thus we were left in a difficult country, and not knowing which way to turn. In addition to this, it rained moſt heavily. Cortes was out of humour, and ſaid, Pedro de Ircio and many more being by, that he wiſhed others beſides the ſettlers of Guacacualco would beſtir themſelves, and do ſome good, in ſearching for guides. De Ircio, Marmolejo a perſon of quality, and Burgales afterwards regidor of Mexico, each offered their ſervices, and taking ſix ſoldiers apiece, were out three days in ſearch of Indians, and all returned without ſucceſs, having met with nothing but rivers, and waters, and obſtructions. Cortes was in deſpair at this, and deſired Sandoval to apply to me, aſking as a favour that I would take the buſineſs on me. When addreſſed in this manner I could not refuſe, though very ill; and, taking with me two friends, men capable of enduring hunger and thirſt, we ſet out together, and, following a ſtream, the marks of boughs being cut from the trees pointed out a way to ſome houſes, from whence we ſaw corn fields and houſes with people about them. We remained concealed until we ſuppoſed the people to be aſleep, and then, taking the inhabitants by ſurpriſe, made priſoners three men, two Indian girls who

who were very handſome, and an old woman. They had a few fowls and a little corn. The whole of our capture we brought to our quarters. Sandoval was overjoyed at our arrival. "Now," ſaid he to Pedro de Ircio, in the preſence of Cortes, "was Del Caſtillo right when he inſiſted on having none but active men with him, and not to take people who hobble along, telling their old ſtories of the adventures that happened to the count De Urena, and his ſon Don Pedre Giron." Theſe ſtories De Ircio uſed to peſter us with, over and over again, for which reaſon all who were preſent laughed heartily at what was ſaid by Sandoval, who knew that De Ircio and I were not friends. Cortes returned me thanks, and paid me many compliments upon my conduct: but I will drop this ſubject, for what is praiſe but emptineſs and unprofitableneſs, and what advantage is it to me that people in Mexico ſhould tell what we endured, or that Cortes ſhould ſay, when he wanted to perſuade me to go on this laſt expedition, that next to God it was me on whom he placed his reliance to procure guides?

From the priſoners whom we had taken we learned, that it was neceſſary to deſcend the river for two days' journey, to a place of above two hundred houſes, named Oculiztli; which we accordingly did, paſſing on our road ſome large buildings where the travelling merchants of the Indians are uſed to ſtop. At the cloſe of the ſecond day we arrived at the place to which

which we had been directed, where we found plenty of provisions. We also found in one of the temples an old red cap, and a sandal, as offerings to their idols. Some of our soldiers brought to Cortes two old men and four women, whom they took in the maize fields. Cortes asked them what distance the Spanish settlement was from this place; to which they replied that it was two days' journey, being close by the sea side, and that no town intervened. Upon this, Cortes ordered Sandoval immediately to set out on foot, with six soldiers, and get down to the coast, in order to ascertain what number of men De Oli had with him, for as yet we were entirely ignorant of all that had happened there, and Cortes required this information in order to effect what he had determined, which was, to fall upon and surprise De Oli and his troops during the night.

Sandoval, taking three guides, reached the sea side, and going northwards soon perceived a canoe, and concealing himself where he expected it to anchor for the night, he was fortunate enough to get possession of it, and upon examination found it to belong to Indian merchants who were bringing salt to Golfo Dolce. Sandoval embarked on board this canoe with a part of his soldiers, and, sending the rest by land, he pursued his route for the great river. As fortune would have it, on his voyage he fell in with a canoe in which had come four Spanish settlers, who were searching for fruit near the mouth of the river, being

ing in great diſtreſs from the hoſtilities of the Indians, and the ravages made by diſeaſe. Two of theſe, being up in a tree, were aſtoniſhed at the ſight of Sandoval and the reſt, and reported to their companions what they had ſeen. When they met, Sandoval was informed by them of their preſent diſtreſs, and how they had hanged the officer left there by Avila. Upon this he determined to bring them to Cortes, which having declared, a ſoldier named Alonzo Ortiz obtained from him permiſſion to ſet off with the news, in order to get a reward. He accordingly in a ſhort time reached us, and by his intelligence rejoiced us all. Cortes preſented him with an excellent horſe, named Moor's-head, and each of us gave him ſomething proportionate to our abilities. Sandoval arrived a ſhort time after, and informed us that they were preparing to embark for the iſland of Cuba, and how they had hanged their commanding officer for oppoſing them, and alſo becauſe he had hanged a turbulent prieſt; as alſo that they had elected one Anthonio Niote in his place.

Cortes iſſued an order to march immediately for the ſea coaſt, which was diſtant ſix leagues, and we had an inlet of the ſea to paſs. We were therefore obliged to wait till low water, and then croſs it, wading and ſwimming. Cortes puſhed forwards with his attendants, and croſſed the river in the two canoes, ſwimming the horſes by the ſide of them; but he found it ſo dangerous, from the violence of the

current, that he ſent word to us not to follow him until farther orders.

The place where Avila's ſettlers now were was about two leagues diſtant from where Cortes landed. They were greatly ſurpriſed at the appearance of Europeans, and more ſo when they found that it was the general ſo renowned through all theſe countries. Cortes received their congratulations in the moſt gracious manner, and deſired them to bring together what canoes they could collect, as alſo the boats belonging to their ſhips, and to provide bread for the uſe of his people. Of this laſt article only fifty pounds could be procured, for they lived almoſt entirely on ſapotes, vegetables, and what fiſh they caught. We were four days paſſing the river, with the greateſt danger. One ſoldier with his horſe went to the bottom, and never appeared afterwards. Two other horſes were alſo loſt: one of them belonged to a ſoldier named Caſquete, who heartily curſed Cortes and his expedition, for the ill fortune he had brought upon him.

The general truſted the care of the embarkation to Sandoval. One Saavedra, preſuming upon his relationſhip with Cortes, would not pay reſpect to the captain's orders, and, endeavouring to force his paſſage, laid his hand to his poniard, with diſreſpectful expreſſions to Sandoval. The latter made few words, but, ſeizing him inſtantly, threw him into the water, where

where he was nearly drowned. Our ſuffering at this time from hunger was beyond my expreſſion. For theſe four days we had literally nothing but the few nuts that we could gather, and ſome wild fruits; and when we arrived on the other ſide our condition was not bettered.

We found this colony to conſiſt of forty men and ſix women, all yellow and ſickly, and without any thing to eat. Of courſe we were anxious for the moment of ſetting out in order to ſearch the country for proviſions. About eighty of us went on foot, under the command of captain Luis Marin, to a town at the diſtance of eight leagues, where we found proviſions of all kinds, cocoa in the greateſt quantity, and plenty of corn and vegetables. This place was exactly on the route of Naco, whither it was the intention of Cortes to go. On receiving our intelligence, he diſpatched Sandoval with the principal part of his troops to join us. We ſent a plentiful ſupply of maize to our wretched coloniſts, who, having been ſo long ſtarving, eat to ſuch an exceſs that ſeven of them died immediately. At this time alſo a veſſel arrived there, with ſeven horſes, forty hogs, eight pipes of ſalted meat, biſcuit, and fifteen paſſengers, adventurers from the iſland of Cuba. All the proviſions Cortes bought immediately, and diſtributed them amongſt the coloniſts, with an equally fatal reſult. They eat of the ſalted meat to ſuch an exceſs that it gave them diarrhoeas, which in a very few days carried off fourteen.

Cortes

Cortes now determined to examine this great river, for which purpoſe he fitted out one of the brigantines of Avila which had been ſtranded, and with this veſſel, a boat, and four double canoes, in which he embarked thirty ſoldiers, with eight ſailors of the veſſel which lately arrived, he proceeded up the river to a ſpacious lake with good anchorage, which extended to the diſtance of ſix leagues, and the whole of the adjacent country was liable to be inundated. Proceeding higher, he found the current more ſtrong, and at length came to ſome ſhallows which his veſſels could not paſs; he accordingly diſembarked, and, proceeding by a narrow road, paſſed through different villages. In the firſt he took ſome natives to ſerve as guides, and in the ſecond he found plenty of corn, and fowls, among which were pheaſants, pigeons and partridges. Theſe laſt I have frequently obſerved domeſticated among the Indians. Purſuing his route, he came near a large town named Cinacan Tencintle, ſituated amongſt fine cocoa plantations, and in which he heard the ſound of muſic, the Indians being engaged in a drunken feſtival. Cortes waited until a fit opportunity, concealed in a wood, and then, ſuddenly ruſhing out, made ten men and fifteen women priſoners. The reſt attacked him with arrows and darts, but our people cloſed with them, and cut to pieces eight of their chiefs. When the natives found that the affair was going againſt them they thought it high time to ſubmit; and accordingly four old men, two of whom were prieſts, came, apparently very

very much tamed, to petition Cortes for the priſoners, and brought with them a few trifles of gold. Cortes promiſed to deliver his priſoners, on receiving a good ſupply of proviſions, which they aſſured him of, and he pointed out to them where the ſhips lay. It appears that a miſunderſtanding afterwards happened between Cortes and the natives, relative to the delivery of his captives, he wiſhing to retain three women to make bread. They in conſequence proceeded to hoſtilities again; Cortes received a wound in the face; twelve alſo of his ſoldiers were wounded, and a boat deſtroyed. He then returned, after an abſence of twenty-ſix days, ſuffering dreadfully by the moſquitoes. He wrote to Sandoval, giving him an account of all that had occurred at Cinacan, which is diſtant from Guatimala ſeventy leagues, and ordered him to proceed to Naco; Cortes himſelf intending to eſtabliſh a ſettlement at the place which was named Puerto de Cavallos, for which purpoſe he deſired ten of the veterans of Guacacualco, without whoſe aſſiſtance nothing was conducted properly.

Cortes, taking with him all the Spaniards that remained at St. Gil de Buena Viſta, embarked in two ſhips, and after eight days' ſail arrived at Puerto de Cavallos, in order to plant a colony there, the ſituation being anſwerable, and the harbour good. He appointed Diego de Godoy commandant of this ſettlement, which he named Natividad. He thought that by this time Sandoval had arrived at Naco, which was not far

far diſtant, and wrote to him there, deſiring ten of the ſoldiers of Guacacualco to reinforce him, as he intended to proceed to the bay of Honduras. This letter reached us in the quarters which I laſt mentioned, for we had not arrived at Naco. I will ſay no more of the proceedings of Cortes, nor how the flies bit him day and night, and prevented his reſt, ſo that, as we afterwards heard, he had like to have died or loſt his ſenſes from want of ſleep.

Sandoval, on receiving the general's letter, preſſed forward towards Naco, but was obliged to halt at a place called Cuyoacan, in order to bring up his ſtragglers who had quitted him in ſearch of proviſions. We had alſo a river to paſs, and the natives all round were hoſtile. As our line of march was ſo very long, by the number of invalids who came ſtraggling after us, eſpecially of the Mexicans, it became neceſſary to eſtabliſh a poſt at the ferry on this river, for which purpoſe Sandoval left me with the command of eight men.

One night a body of the natives fell upon us, but we were prepared for them. They ſet fire to the houſe in which we were, and thought to have brought off our canoe; but we, with the aſſiſtance of a few Mexicans, beat them off for that time; and, knowing that there were ſome invalids lodged upon the road behind us, we on the next day brought them over, and all together ſet out to join Sandoval. One man

man died upon the road; he was a Genoeſe, had been ſome time ill, and at length ſunk under poverty of diet. I was obliged to leave the body behind, for which Sandoval blamed me when I made my report. I told him we had two invalids on each horſe, and my companion Bartholome de Villanueva haughtily ſaid, that it was difficult enough for us to bring ourſelves, without carrying dead men. Sandoval immediately ordered me and Villanueva to return and bury him, which we accordingly did, and placed a croſs over the grave. We found in his pocket a purſe containing a quantity of dice, and a memorandum of his family and effects in Teneriffe. Reſt his ſoul! Amen.

In about two days we arrived at Naco, having paſſed a place where mines have been ſince diſcovered, and alſo a town named Quiniſtan. On arriving at Naco we found it to be a good town, but it was abandoned by its inhabitants; however, we obtained plenty of proviſions and ſalt, which we much wanted. We took our quarters in ſome very large quadrangles, the ſame place where De Oli had been executed, and fixed ourſelves as if we had been to remain here forever. In this place is the fineſt water that we had met with in New Spain, as alſo a tree, which at the time of the fieſta, let the heat of the ſun be as great as it will, has a delightful, refreſhing coolneſs in its ſhade, and there ſeems to deſcend from it a kind of dew, of the moſt delicate nature, which is good for the

the head. The place is well ſituated, the neighbourhood fertile, and producing both the red and the ſmall ſapote, and it was at that time populous.

Sandoval, having obtained poſſeſſion of three of the principal natives of the diſtrict, treated them kindly, and we continued in peaceable terms with them, but the inhabitants could not be induced to return to the town. It was now time to ſend the reinforcement Cortes had required, of ten Spaniſh ſettlers of Guacacualco. I was an invalid and unable to go, and Sandoval wiſhed to keep me with him; eight valiant ſoldiers were however ſent, who ſet out, heartily curſing Cortes and his expedition at every ſtep. They had ſome reaſon, for they did not know the leaſt of the ſtate of the country through which they were to go. Sandoval took the precaution of ſending five principal perſons of the natives with them, and gave it to be underſtood, that if any injury was done to them the country ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed. They arrived at the place where Cortes was, in ſafety, and he immediately embarked for Truxillo, leaving Godoy in the command at Puerto de Cavallos, with forty Spaniards, which was all that remained of the ſettlers who came with Avila, and thoſe newly arrived from the iſland of Cuba.

For ſome time Godoy maintained himſelf in the neighbouring country; but, as his men were continually dropping off by diſeaſe, the Indians began to

deſpiſe

deſpiſe and neglect them, and in a ſhort time they loſt by ſickneſs and famine above half their number, and three of them deſerted and joined Sandoval. Such was the reſult of the colonization of Puerto de Cavallos. Sandoval, by different expeditions to the neighbouring diſtricts, named Cirimongo, Acalaco, Quizmitan, and four others, and by judicious meaſures, brought the whole of the country to peace and ſubjection, all around Naco, and as far as Godoy's ſettlement.

After ſix days' ſail Cortes arrived at the port of Truxillo. This place had been colonized by Franciſco de las Caſas, but there were alſo amongſt them many of the mutineers who had ſerved under De Oli, and who had been baniſhed from Panuco. All theſe, conſcious of their guilt, waited on Cortes upon his arrival, to ſupplicate his pardon for their offences. This Cortes granted them; he alſo continued thoſe who had been appointed to offices, and put at the head of all thoſe provinces, as captain general, his relation Saavedra. Cortes, having now ſummoned the chiefs and prieſts of the Indians, made an harangue to them, wherein he told them of the object of his coming thither, which was, to induce them to quit the unnatural and cruel practices of their falſe religion, and to embrace the true one. He alſo dwelt upon the power and dignity of his Majeſty the Emperor Don Carlos, to whom he required their ſubmiſſion. This, together with the holy exhortations

of our reverend fathers, being explained to theſe people, they readily promiſed to obey him, in becoming his Majeſty's vaſſals; whereupon Cortes ſignified to them, that they ſhould provide the ſettlement with all articles of food, eſpecially fiſh, of which there was a great plenty in the ſea about the iſlands of Los Guanajes, and alſo he deſired them to ſend labourers to clear the woods in front of the town, and open the view to the ſea. All this being readily undertaken by them, Cortes ordered a number of ſows in young to be turned out on theſe iſlands, to ſtock them, which they did in the courſe of a few years. The reverend fathers Franciſcans alſo preached to the Indians many holy things, very edifying to hear. The natives applied themſelves to labour ſo earneſtly, that in two days they cleared the woods towards the ſea, and built fifteen houſes, one of which was for Cortes, and a very good habitation. The renown of our general made him feared through all theſe diſtricts, as far as Olancho, where are the rich mines. The Indians called him, "The captain Hue-hue of Marina," that is, "The old captain who brings Donna Marina;" and his preſence reduced the whole country to ſubmiſſion, two or three diſtricts in the mountains only holding out. Againſt theſe, the names of which were given to him by the chief of Papayeca, then a populous diſtrict, but now almoſt uninhabited, he ſent captain Saavedra with a party of ſoldiers, who brought moſt of them under ſubjection, the only

ly one that held out being that people named the Acaltecans.

As many of the ſuite of Cortes began now to fall ſick from the effects of the climate, he ſent them on board a veſſel to St. Domingo or Cuba, and by this opportunity he alſo ſent letters to the reverend fathers of the order of St. Jerome, and the court of royal audience, informing them of all the events that had happened; of his reſigning the government of Mexico into the hands of deputies, to proceed againſt De Oli in perſon, and alſo of his future intentions. He requeſted from them a reinforcement of ſoldiers, and, to attach credit to his report, he ſent a valuable preſent of gold, taken in reality from his ſide board, but in ſuch a manner that it ſhould appear to them the produce of this ſettlement. This buſineſs he entruſted to a relation named Avalos, with orders, on his way, to take up twenty-five ſoldiers, who, he had received intelligence, were left in the iſland of Cozumel to kidnap Indians. This veſſel was wrecked about ſeventy leagues from the Havannah; the captain, Avalos, and many paſſengers, periſhed, and thoſe few who eſcaped, amongſt whom was the licentiate Pedro Lopez, were the firſt who brought to the iſlands intelligence of the exiſtence of Cortes and his army; for it had been hitherto univerſally believed that we had all periſhed. As ſoon as it was known where Cortes then was, two old ſhips were freighted with horſes and colts, and ſent out to us. Except theſe, and

and one pipe of wine, all the reſt of the cargo conſiſted of ſhirts, caps, and uſeleſs trumpery of various kinds.

Some Indians of the iſlands called the Guanajes, which are about the diſtance of eight leagues from Truxillo, came at this time to complain to Cortes, that it had been a practice of the Spaniards to come to their iſlands and kidnap the natives and their maceguales, or ſlaves, and that a veſſel was now there, as ſuppoſed, for that purpoſe. Cortes, on hearing this, ordered out one of his ſhips, which came in view of the veſſel, but ſhe immediately hoiſted ſail and made her eſcape. It afterwards appeared that the commander of her was the bachelor Moreno, who had been ſent on buſineſs to Nombre de Dios, by the royal court of audience of St. Domingo.

While Sandoval remained at Naco, the chiefs of two diſtricts in that vicinity, named Quecuſpan and Tanchinalchapa, came to him to complain of a party of Spaniards who maltreated their people, robbing them, and putting them in chains, and who were now at the diſtance of about one day's march from his poſt. He accordingly ſet out againſt them with ſeventy men, and arrived at the place where theſe people were, perfectly at their eaſe, and not expecting any attack. They were ſurpriſed at ſeeing us, and ran to their arms; but we ſoon ſeized the captain and ſeveral more, thus getting the better of them without

out any blood being drawn on either ſide. Sandoval cenſured them in very ſtrong terms for their miſconduct, and ordered thoſe Indians whom they had made priſoners to be immediately releaſed. The captain of this party was one Pedro de Garro; he and his men were marched priſoners to our ſettlement. From the manner in which they were mounted and attended, they ſeemed to be lords, in compariſon of us, who were dirty and worn down with ſervice. Several of them were perſons of quality, or gentlemen, and after they had repoſed a day amongſt us they grew perfectly contented.

The reaſon of their being in theſe countries is as follows: Pedro Arias de Avila, who had the government of Tierra Firma, ſent a captain named Franciſco Hernandez to make conqueſts in the province of Nicaragua and Leon. This he did, reducing the natives to obedience, and eſtabliſhing a colony there. When Hernandez found himſelf advantageouſly ſettled, he determined to throw off his dependency upon Pedro Arias, to which I believe he was incited by the bachelor Moreno; and the reaſon of it to the beſt of my judgment was this: Arias had beheaded V. N. de Balboa, who married his daughter Donna Iſabella Arias de Penoſa. This atrocious ſtretch of power he committed moſt unwarrantably, and it was on this occaſion that the bachelor Moreno had been ſent hither by the royal court of audience. The bachelor, meeting with Hernandez, adviſed him to renounce his connexion

connexion with Pedro Arias, who had conducted himſelf ſo badly, and to eſtabliſh a diſtinct government in that province, immediately under his Majeſty; and Hernandez, taking his counſel, ſent this party to make their way to the north coaſt, thereby to open a communication with the mother country.

All this, being explained to Sandoval, was by him communicated to Cortes, in expectation of his ſupporting the views of Hernandez, by captain Luis Marin, whom I attended upon this occaſion. Our whole party conſiſted of ten ſoldiers, and a moſt deſperate journey it was. The Indians were hoſtile, and attacked us with large heavy lances, wounding two of our ſoldiers. The rivers which we croſſed were ſwollen and rapid, and ſo frequent, that in one day we paſſed three of them. One river named Xagua, ten leagues from Triumpho de la Cruz, detained us for two days, and the inlets and lagoons were infeſted by alligators. By the ſide of the river Xagua we found the ſkeletons of ſeven horſes; they had belonged to De Oli's troops, and died from eating poiſonous herbs. Paſſing El Triumpho de la Cruz, and a place named Quemara, at length we arrived in the neighbourhood of Truxillo, about the hour of veſpers, and ſaw five cavaliers riding along the coaſt. Theſe were Cortes and four of his friends, who were taking exerciſe. When he recogniſed us, after the firſt ſurpriſe at the unexpected meeting, he diſmounted from his horſe, and, running up, embraced us all with tears in his eyes, ſo overjoyed

ed was he to ſee us. It made me melancholy to find him ſo weak and reduced. Diſtreſs and diſeaſe had worn him down: indeed he expected death, and had gotten a Franciſcan habit made to be buried in. He had not at this time received any intelligence from Mexico ſince he quitted that city. He walked into the town with us, and we ſupped with him, wretchedly enough. I had not my fill even of bread or biſcuit. When he had read over the letters relative to the buſineſs of Hernandez, he promiſed that he would do all he could to ſupport him. The veſſels from St. Domingo had arrived here three days before us. I have already mentioned, that, except the horſes and one pipe of wine, their cargoes were nothing but frippery; it would have been much better that they had not come, ſince it induced us all to run ourſelves in debt, buying their uſeleſs traſh.

While we were relating to Cortes the hardſhips we had ſuſtained during our late journey, a ſhip was deſcried at a diſtance, making for our port. This veſſel ſailed from the Havannah, with letters for the general from the licentiate Zuazo, alcalde major of Mexico. The hidalgo who was captain of the veſſel came directly to kiſs the hands of Cortes, and preſented his letters, the ſubſtance of which the reader ſhall be informed of. As ſoon as Cortes read them he was overwhelmed with ſorrow and diſtreſs. He retired to his private apartment, where we could hear that he was ſuffering under the greateſt agitation.

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He did not ſtir out for an entire day; at night he confeſſed, and ordered a maſs for the enſuing morning, after which he called us together, and read to us the intelligence he had received, and whereby we learned, that it had been univerſally reported and believed in New Spain that we were all dead, and our properties had in conſequence been ſold by public auction. From his father in Caſtille he was informed of the death of the biſhop of Burgos, that Albornos had been laborioufly undermining us at court, and alſo of what I have before related, in regard to his Majeſty's orders to the admiral, and the interference of the duke of Bejar; alſo that Narvaez had been appointed to the government of the river Palmas, and that the government of Panuco had been given to one Nuno de Guzman.

In regard to the affairs of New Spain, theſe letters further added, that in conſequence of the powers which Cortes had given to the factor Gonzalo de Salazar, and the veedor Pedro Almindes Chirinos, to ſuperſede the deputies he had left in Mexico, viz. the treaſurer Alonzo de Eſtrada, and the contador Albornos, and to take the adminiſtration upon themſelves in caſe of miſconduct on the part of the deputies, theſe two officers having on their return to Mexico formed a ſtrong party, amongſt whom was the licentiate Zuazo, alcalde major, Rodrigo de Paz, alguazil major, A. de Tapia, Jorge de Alvarado, and the reſt of the ancient conquerors, attempted to take the government

government into their hands by main force, and the conſequence of the ſtruggle of the two parties was, much diſturbance, and bloodſhed. The factor and veedor however carried their point, and had made priſoners the two former deputies and many of their friends. Still however there was fighting every day, the predominating party confiſcating the property of their opponents, to diſtribute it among their own adherents. They had, we learned, completely ſuperſeded Zuazo in his office, and had impriſoned Rodrigo de Paz the alguazil major, but that the licentiate Zuazo had effected a temporary reconciliation between the parties. During theſe diſturbances, three diſtricts, viz. the Zapotecans, Minxes, and thoſe in the vicinity of a fortified rock named Coatlan, had rebelled, and a force going againſt them under the veedor Chirinos, inſtead of attending to their buſineſs, the troops thought of nothing but card playing, in conſequence of which the natives ſurpriſed them in their camp, and did them much miſchief. The factor had then ſent a veteran captain named Andrez de Monjaraz, to aſſiſt the veedor, and adviſe him; but this officer was unable to exert himſelf properly, being an invalid. As to the city of Mexico, there was danger every hour of an inſurrection.

The letters alſo informed us that the factor conſtantly remitted gold to his Majeſty's treaſurer, Don Franciſco de los Cobos, to make an intereſt for himſelf at court, reporting that we were all dead at Xica-

longa, the belief of which was corroborated by Diego de Ordas, who, to get out of the factions and troubles of Mexico, had ſailed with two veſſels to ſearch for us; and arriving at the place called Xicalonga, where the captains Simon de Cuenca and Franciſco de Medina had been killed, hearing the account of their misfortunes, and not knowing the particulars, had taken it for granted that it could be no others than Cortes and his party who were thus deſtroyed, and reported ſo in his letters to Mexico which he ſent by certain paſſengers, and then, without landing, hoiſted ſail for Cuba. The factor ſhewed his letter to our relations, and put on mourning; and a monument was erected, and funeral ſervice performed, for the honour of Cortes, in the great church of Mexico. The factor then proclaimed himſelf governor and captain general of New Spain, with the ſound of kettle drums and trumpets, and iſſued out an order, that all women who had any regard for their ſouls, and whoſe huſbands had gone with Cortes, ſhould conſider them dead in law, and marry again forthwith. And becauſe a woman named Juana de Manſilla did not chooſe to take his advice, but inſiſted on waiting the return of her huſband Alonzo Valiente, ſaying that we were not people who would let ourſelves be ſo eaſily beaten as the veedor Chirinos and his party, the factor ordered her to be publicly whipped through the ſtreets of Mexico for a witch.

As there are in all places flattering traitors, one of this deſcription, whom we once expected better from, and whoſe name I will not mention, ſolemnly aſſured the factor, before many witneſſes, that, going one night by the church of St. Jago, which is built on the ſcite of the great temple of the Mexicans, and looking into the church yard, he ſaw the ſouls of Cortes, Donna Marina, and Sandoval, burning in flames of fire; and that he had been ſo terrified there at as to have remained ill ever ſince. Another man of good reputation alſo came to the factor, and told him that the quadrangles of Tezcuco were haunted by evil ſpirits, which the natives ſaid were the ſouls of Donna Marina and Cortes. All thoſe falſehoods they invented to ingratiate themſelves with the factor.

At this time arrived in Mexico the captains Franciſco de las Caſas, and Gil Gonzales de Avila, the ſame who beheaded Chriſtoval de Oli. Las Caſas on his arrival publicly aſſerted the exiſtence of Cortes, and reprobated the conduct of the factor, but declared that ſhould it be the caſe, as then believed, that we were all dead, Alvarado was the only proper man to put in the place of Cortes, until his Majeſty's further pleaſure ſhould be known. Alvarado being written to on the ſubject ſet out for Mexico; but, growing apprehenſive of ſome attempt upon his life, he thought it moſt prudent to return to his diſtrict. The factor had at this time collected what gold he could

could lay his hands upon, to ſupport his negotiations at court. In this he was oppoſed by almoſt every other officer of the government of New Spain, who determined among themſelves not to permit him excluſively to make repreſentations of the tranſactions there, but to ſend likewiſe their own ſtatements at the ſame time, and by the ſame opportunity, with his. When the factor found that he could not bring over Las Caſas, Gonzales de Avila, and the licentiate, to ſupport his views, he cauſed the two former to be arreſted and proſecuted for the alledged murder of De Oli; and by his wickedneſs, and the preponderance of his power, procuring their condemnation, it was with the greateſt difficulty that their immediate execution could be prevented, by appealing to his Majeſty. He was obliged however to content himſelf with ſending them priſoners to Caſtille. He then fell upon the licentiate Zuazo, and ſent him off to Vera Cruz, and there embarked him for the iſland of Cuba, as was alledged, to anſwer for his conduct while he was judge there. He next ſeized Rodrigo de Paz, and demanded of him an account and ſurrender of the treaſure of Cortes, whoſe major domo he had been; and becauſe he could not or would not declare or make diſcovery concerning it, he cauſed his feet and part of his legs to be burnt; and, not content with giving him the torture, and knowing alſo that if left alive he might complain to his Majeſty, he ordered him to be hanged, which was accordingly done. He alſo arreſted moſt of the friends of Cortes. Tapia

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and Jorge de Alvarado, however, took ſanctuary with the Franciſcan fathers; but ſeveral of them went over to him, partly becauſe he gave them Indians, and partly becauſe it is natural to wiſh to be with the ſtrongeſt power, or, as the ſaying is, to cry, "Succeſs to the conquerors." He emptied the arſenal of arms, and brought them to his palace, in the front of which he alſo planted all the artillery, which was commanded by captain Don Luis de Guzman, ſon-in-law to the Duke of Medina Sidonia. He next formed a body guard for his own protection, compoſed in part of the ſoldiers of Cortes, to the command of which he appointed one Artiaga.

Zuazo alſo wrote to Cortes to inform him that he had reported many ſcandals of him to his Majeſty, ſuch as defrauding him of the duty upon gold; and, as an inſtance to what extent he carried his tyranny, he mentioned a circumſtance of a travelling Spaniard having informed a woman, and given her proofs, that her huſband, who was gone with Cortes, was alive. This coming to the ears of the factor, he cauſed him to be ſeized by four alguazils, and would have hanged him, but that he, to excuſe himſelf, declared that what he had ſaid was all a falſehood, and that he had only invented it to comfort the poor woman, ſeeing her weeping for the loſs of her huſband. The buſineſs which brought this man to Mexico was, to obtain a plantation: this was immediately ſettled to his ſatisfaction, and he was diſmiſſed with a hint to hold

hold his tongue, as he valued his life. This letter alſo informed Cortes of the death of the reverend father Bartholome, a holy man, and much regretted by all the natives of Mexico, who in token of their reſpect faſted from the time of his death until he was buried. Zuazo concluded by ſaying, that he feared Mexico was loſt, and that he had been ſent a priſoner in irons to the place from whence he dated his letter.

This intelligence made us all very ſad. It was difficult to ſay which of the two, Cortes or the factor, we curſed moſt heartily in our own minds. We ſecretly gave them ten thouſand maledictions, and our hearts ſunk within us. Cortes retired to his chamber, and did not appear to us till evening, when we entreated him immediately to haſten to Mexico. He replied to us kindly and gently, ſaying, "Dear friends and companions, this villain of a factor is powerful. If I go and you accompany me, he may lay hands upon us by the road, and murder us all. It were better that I went privately with three or four of you, and came to Mexico before he was prepared. Let the reſt rejoin Sandoval, and proceed with him to Mexico." Cortes now wrote to captain Hernandez, promiſing him every ſupport; he ſent him alſo two mules loaded with preſents of ſuch things as he knew he wanted, entruſting them to the care of a gentleman named Cabrera, a brave officer who was on the ſtaff under Blaſco Nunez Velo, and was killed in the ſame battle with the viceroy. When I ſaw that Cortes

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was determined to go to Mexico, I requeſted of him that he would permit me, who had been in all difficulties and dangers by his ſide, to attend him upon this occaſion. He embraced me and ſaid, "I requeſt you my ſon to remain with Sandoval. I promiſe you, and I ſwear by this beard, that I conſider myſelf much beholden to you, and have long done ſo." However, he would not permit me to attend him.

I remember, when we were in the town of Truxillo, a gentleman named Roderigo Manueca, a principal officer in the general's houſehold, to divert Cortes, ſeeing him diſtreſſed, as he was with good reaſon, laid a wager with ſome other cavaliers, that he would climb in his armour to the top of the rock, whereon ſtood the houſe which the Indians had built for the head quarters. When he had got a conſiderable way up he miſſed his hold, and, falling to the ground, was killed. Some of the ſettlers of this place now began to grow mutinous, on finding that Cortes had omitted to name them to any office. He however found the means to pacify them, by promiſes not to forget them on his arrival at Mexico. Previous to his departure, he ordered captain Diego de Godoy with his ſettlers to quit the colony of Puerto de Cavallos, where it was impoſſible for them to keep their ground, on account of fleas, muſquitos, and other vermin, and to relieve us at the good ſettlement of Naco. He alſo ordered us to take the province of Nicaragua

Nicaragua in our way to Mexico, as the government of it was an object worth applying for. Accordingly we took our leave of Cortes, who was embarked, and ſet out cheerfully upon our journey, as Mexico was to be the end of it. It was, as uſual, attended with extreme diſtreſs. However, we reached Naco, and found that captain De Garro had before our arrival gone for Nicaragua, to acquaint his chief, Hernandez, of the promiſe which Cortes had made, and we ſet out on the enſuing day for Mexico.

Two confidential friends of the governor Arias de Avila, having gotten the knowledge that a private correſpondence was going on between Hernandez and Cortes, began to ſuſpect the view of the former to ſurrender his province, and detach himſelf from Avila. Theſe ſoldiers were named Garruito and Zamorrano. The former was urged on particularly by an old enmity to Cortes, on account of a rivalſhip about a lady in St. Domingo when they were both youths, and which had ended in a duel. Theſe perſons informed Avila of the whole that they knew, and he, immediately on receipt of the intelligence, haſtened off to ſeize the parties concerned. Garro, alarmed in time, made his eſcape to us; but Hernandez, relying upon their former intimacy and friendſhip, thought that Avila would not proceed to extremities, and did not attempt to avoid him. He was however ſadly undeceived, for after a very ſummary proceſs he was executed as a traitor to his ſuperior officer, in the town

town which he was colonizing, and thus ended the negotiation between him and Cortes.

The firſt time that Cortes ſailed from Truxillo for Vera Cruz, he was obliged to put back by contrary winds, the ſecond time from an accident which happened to the veſſel. He was diſpirited by ſickneſs, the voyage alſo added to his mental depreſſion, and he was apprehenſive of the power of the factor. On his return he ordered a ſolemn maſs, and prayed fervently to the Holy Ghoſt to enlighten him as to his future proceedings. It appears that he became inſpired with an inclination to ſtay and colonize the country where he then was; for he ſent three expreſſes as hard as they could poſt to recal us and bring us back to Truxillo. In his letters he expreſſed his determination, which he attributed to the inſpiration of his guardian angel. When we received this meſſage we beſtowed a thouſand maledictions on Cortes and the ill fortune which attended him, and told Sandoval, that if he choſe to remain it muſt be by himſelf, for that we were determined to proceed to Mexico. Sandoval was alſo of our opinion; we therefore returned an anſwer to this effect, ſigned by us all, and in a few days received another letter from him, which contained great offers to ſuch as ſhould be induced to remain, and concluded by ſaying, that if we refuſed, there ſtill remained ſoldiers in Caſtille and elſewhere. On receiving this letter we were if poſſible more determined than ever to proceed; but Sandoval

earneſtly entreated, and perſuaded us to halt for a few days, until he could ſee Cortes, in the hope of perſuading him to undertake the journey to Mexico. We wrote back in reply, that as he ſaid he could find ſoldiers in Caſtille, ſo could we governors and generals in Mexico, who would give us plantations for our ſervices, and that we had ſuffered misfortunes enough already by him. With this anſwer Sandoval ſet off, attended by a ſoldier named Sauzedo, and a farrier, and mounted on his good horſe Motilla, ſwearing by his beard that he would not return until he had put Cortes on board the ſhip for Mexico.

Now I mention Sandoval's horſe, I muſt obſerve of him, that he was the ſwifteſt, and the beſt dreſſed, and fineſt figure, of any horſe in New Spain: he was of a dark cheſnut colour, and ſuch was the fame of Motilla, that it reached the ear of his Majeſty, to whom Sandoval intended to preſent him. Sandoval applied to me at this time for my horſe, an excellent animal for career, exerciſe, or road. He coſt me ſix hundred crowns to one Avalos, brother to Saavedra; my former one, which had coſt me a greater ſum, being killed in an action at a place called Zulaco. However, Sandoval exchanged with me one of his, which was killed under me in leſs than two months; after which I remained with nothing better than a vicious colt, which I bought a bad bargain of from amongſt thoſe brought to Truxillo in the two veſſels, as I have before related. Sandoval at parting from

us

us defired us to wait his return at a large Indian town named Acalteca. When he reached Truxillo, his friend Cortes was rejoiced to ſee him, but neither our letter, nor the preſſing inſtances of Sandoval, nor of the reverend father Varillas, could induce him to ſurmount his averſion to proceed to Mexico.

When Sandoval found it impoſſible to induce Cortes to go to Mexico, he prevailed upon him to ſend a confidential ſervant named Martin de Orantes, with a commiſſion to Pedro de Alvarado, and Franciſco de las Caſas, to take upon them the government during his abſence, in caſe thoſe officers were in Mexico; and ſhould they not be found there, the ſame power was to be exerciſed by the treaſurer Alonzo de Eſtrada, and the contador Albornos, conformably to the deputation given by Cortes to them, previous to his departure from Mexico, thoſe delegated to the factor and veedor being revoked. Cortes, having agreed to this, and given his orders and inſtructions, directed Orantes to land in a bay between Vera Cruz and Panuco, and to ſuffer no one to go on ſhore but himſelf; and the veſſel was immediately to hoiſt ſail and proceed for Panuco. Theſe laſt inſtructions were given, that the arrival of his officer ſhould be kept as private as poſſible until the proper time. He alſo ſent letters by him to all his friends in New Spain, and to the treaſurer and contador, although he knew them in reality not to belong to the number.

The

The wind and weather being favourable, in a few days the veſſel arrived at its deſtination, and Orantes on landing diſguiſed himſelf as a labourer. On his journey he avoided the Spaniards, lodging and mixing only with the natives. Thoſe who had known him before could not have recognized him, after an abſence of two years and three months. To ſuch as queſtioned him he ſaid, that his name was Juan de Flechilla; in this manner, being an active man, he arrived in four days at Mexico, and, entering the city after dark, he proceeded directly to the lodgings of the reverend fathers Franciſcans. On being admitted, he there found the Alvarados, and ſeveral of the friends of Cortes, concealed. When he had explained who he was, and produced the general's letters, all preſent, the reverend fathers not excepted, danced for joy: they immediately locked the gates of the monaſtery, to exclude the obſervation of the traitorous party, and at midnight the intelligence was communicated to the treaſurer, the contador, and many of the friends of Cortes, who immediately aſſembled at the Franciſcans.

It was then determined by them, as the firſt ſtep, to ſeize on the perſon of the factor in the morning. All the intermediate time was employed in collecting arms and friends, and making other preparations for the purpoſe. The veedor was at that period at the rock of Coatlan. At day break the whole party marched to the palace inhabited by the factor, crying, "Long

"Long live his Majeſty and Hernando Cortes." When this was heard by the citizens, they all took to their arms, thinking it ſomething wherein government called for their aſſiſtance, and numbers under that idea joined the treaſurer on his march. As to the contador, he played a double part, giving intelligence to the factor to put him on his guard; and Eſtrada reproached him ſtrongly for his conduct.

When the party of Cortes approached the reſidence of the factor, they found that he was already well prepared, owing to the information that he had received. His artillery under Don Luis de Guzman was planted in front of the houſe, and he had a ſtrong garriſon within ſide. Thoſe with the treaſurer forcing their way in, ſome by the different doors, others by the terraces and wherever they could get acceſs, all at the ſame time, and ſhouting for his Majeſty and Cortes, the adherents of the factor became diſmayed, and the artillery-men abandoning the guns, the other ſoldiers alſo made off and hid themſelves; one of them, Gines Nortes, leaping down from a corredor; ſo that there only remained with the factor, Pedro Gonzalez Sabiote, and four ſervants. When he found himſelf thus abandoned, he became deſperate, and endeavoured himſelf to fire off the guns, in which attempt he was ſeized and made priſoner. A large cage of timber was conſtructed to receive him, and thus terminated his career as governor of New Spain. Circular notice was ſent to all the provinces of this revolution,

revolution, by which each individual was pleaſed or diſſatisfied as his particular intereſt ſwayed him. When the veedor heard it he was ſo diſtreſſed that he fell ſick. He left his command with captain De Monjaraz, and got himſelf conveyed towards Mexico, and reaching the monaſtery of St. Francis in Tezcuco, he there ſhut himſelf up, and was ſhortly after made priſoner and ſecured in another wooden cage.

Immediate intelligence of all that had happened was forwarded to Pedro de Alvarado, with directions to him to proceed to Truxillo, and wait upon Cortes. The next thing that the new deputies did was, to pay their reſpects to Juanna de Manſilla, the woman who had been whipped for a witch. The treaſurer placed her on horſeback behind him, and thus, attended by all the cavaliers in proceſſion, ſhe was paraded through the ſtreets of Mexico like a Roman matron, and was ever after called Donna Juanna, in honour of her conſtancy, in refuſing to comply with the orders of the factor to marry again, while ſhe was convinced that her huſband was living.

The ſituation of Mexico evidently requiring the preſence of Cortes, Fra. Diego de Altamirano was pitched on by his friends to wait upon him, and repreſent to him the neceſſity of his immediately ſetting out. This father had been in the military profeſſion before he entered the church, and was a man of buſineſs and abilities. The conduct purſued by the veedor

veedor and factor, and especially their confiscations and distribution of property among their greedy supporters, had gained them many adherents, and, if not friends, at least persons interested in the maintenance of their government. These, composed principally of the low and seditious description, but mixed with some of quality, with the support and contrivance of the contador, who dreaded the arrival of Cortes, had formed a plan to kill the treasurer, and reinstate the factor and veedor in their offices. For the purpose of releasing them from prison, they had recourse to one Guzman, a white-smith; a fellow of low character, and a ridiculous affecter of wit. To him they applied to make the keys, giving him a piece of gold whereon was marked the form in which they were to be wrought, and charging him at the same time to keep the strictest secrecy. All this he readily undertook and promised, speaking as if he had the liberation of the prisoners sincerely at heart. They then told him all the particulars which his inquisitiveness induced him to question them about, and he proceeded in his work but slowly and awkwardly, in order to induce them to repeat their visits, to hurry him on; and he thus obtained from the conspirators the knowledge that he required. The keys being finished, and the party ready to make the attempt, he suddenly went to the house of the treasurer, and gave him an account of the whole. The treasurer, assembling the friends of Cortes on the instant, proceeded to the place of meeting, where he found twenty conspirators armed,

and

and in waiting for the ſignal. Theſe he ſeized, but many others made their eſcape. Among theſe apprehended were ſome notorious characters; one of them had lately committed violence on a Caſtillian woman. They were tried before the bachelor Ortega, alcalde major, and, being convicted, three were hanged, and ſeveral whipped.

I muſt now make a conſiderable digreſſion from my narrative, though it comes in properly in point of matter, to mention how the ſame veſſel which conveyed the letters tranſmitted by the factor to his Majeſty in Caſtille, conveyed others, ſo artfully concealed, that he had no ſuſpicion of them, wherein was given a full and true account of all his oppreſſions, and unlawful proceedings. Theſe facts had alſo been already reported by the courts of St. Domingo, which contradicted the accounts of the death of Cortes, and informed his Majeſty how that officer was employed for his ſervice. The Emperor is reported to have declared his indignation at the manner in which Cortes had been treated, and his determination to ſupport him.

When Fra. Altamirano arrived at Truxillo, and explained his buſineſs to Cortes, the latter returned thanks to Heaven for having granted peace to that country. He alſo declared his intention of going thither, but that it muſt be by land, on account of the contrariety of the currents, and his own bad ſtate of health.

health. The pilots however repreſented to him that the ſeaſon was favourable, it being then the month of April, and prevailed upon him to give up his firſt determination; but ſtill he could not leave that place until the return of Sandoval, whom he had detached againſt a captain Roxas, who ſerved under Arias, and againſt whom complaints had been lodged by the natives of a diſtrict named Olancho, which was diſtant about fifty-five leagues from Truxillo. Sandoval had been detached thither with ſeventy ſoldiers; at firſt the two parties were upon the brink of hoſtilities, but became afterwards reconciled, and parted amicably, Roxas and his ſoldiers quitting that country.

Sandoval was immediately recalled, in conſequence of the meſſage brought by Altamirano. The general appointed captain Saavedra his lieutenant in that province, and wrote at the ſame time to captain Luis Marin to march our whole party by the road of Guatimala, and captain Godoy he ordered to Naco. Theſe letters Saavedra maliciouſly ſuppreſſed, for they never came to our hands. Cortes previous to his embarkation confeſſed to Fra. Juan, and received the ſacrament; for he was ſo ill that he thought himſelf at the point of death. The wind favouring his voyage to the Havannah, he ſoon arrived there, and was joyfully received by his former friends and acquaintances; and a veſſel from New Spain, which arrived about the ſame time, brought intelligence that the country

was at peace, for that the Indians, hearing that Cortes, and we his conquerors, were yet living, had come in and ſubmitted.

CHAPTER VIII.

Return of Cortes to Mexico. Occurrences there. Return of the Author to Mexico.

AFTER five days' refreſhment at the Havannah, Cortes embarked, and in twelve days arrived at the port of Medellin, oppoſite to the iſland De los Sacrificios, where he diſembarked with twenty ſoldiers, and, proceeding to the town of San Juan de Ulua, which was diſtant about half a league, it was his fortune to light upon a ſtring of horſes and mules which had conveyed travellers to the coaſt, and which he engaged to take him to Vera Cruz. He ordered thoſe about him to give no hint to any one who he was, and two hours before day break, arriving at the town, he went directly to the church, the doors of which were juſt opened. When the ſacriſtan ſaw the church filled with people whom he did not know, he became alarmed, and ran into the ſtreet, calling to the civil power to aſſiſt him. The alcaldes, three alguazils,

nils, and ſome of the neighbours, came with arms in conſequence of the noiſe. Cortes was ſqualid, and the white habit of the reverend father was dirty from the ſea voyage; nor did any one recollect them until Cortes began to ſpeak; but as ſoon as he was recognized by them, they all fell upon their knees, kiſſed his hands, and bid him and his attendants welcome. All his old fellow ſoldiers aſſembled around him, and after maſs eſcorted him to the quarters of Pedro Moreno Medrano, where he remained for eight days, during which time he was feaſted and entertained by the inhabitants. Intelligence was alſo ſent to Mexico to give the people there the joyful tidings, and Cortes wrote to his friends to the ſame effect. The Indians of the neighbourhood brought him abundant preſents, and when he ſet out for the city of Mexico every preparation was made for his accommodation. The inhabitants of Mexico, and of all the places round the lake, celebrated his return with feſtivals, and thoſe of Tlaſcala did the ſame.

When he arrived at Tezcuco, where the contador came to wait upon him, he thought it proper to remain there for that night, and on the next morning but one he entered the city, being met by all the officers, cavaliers, and other inhabitants, in great ſtate. The natives in their beſt dreſſes, and armed as warriors, filled the lake with their canoes; the dancing continued in every ſtreet during the day, and at night the city was illuminated with lights at every door.

Immediately

Immediately on his arrival he went to the monaſtery of St. Franciſco, to return thanks to God for all his mercies to him. From that he went to his magnificent palace, where he was ſerved, and eſteemed, and feared, as a ſovereign prince, all the provinces making their ſubmiſſions, and ſending preſents and congratulations to him. The entry of Cortes into Mexico was in the month of June. He immediately ordered the arreſt of thoſe who had been moſt eminent for ſedition and faction, and cauſed an inquiry to be inſtituted into the conduct of the two great culprits. He alſo arreſted one Ocampo, who had been concerned in defamatory libels, and a perſon of the name of Ocana, a ſcrivener. *This man, who was very old, was called the body and ſoul of the factor. He now intended to proceed immediately to bring the veedor and factor to juſtice for their crimes, and if he had done ſo no one could have ſaid againſt it, and it would have met his Majeſty's approbation. This I heard ſaid by ſome members of the royal council of the Indies, the biſhop de las Caſas being preſent, in the year of our Lord one thouſand five hundred and forty, when I was attending on my own affairs; but in this inſtance Cortes may be juſtly taxed with feebleneſs of conduct.

The reader has already been informed of the charges brought againſt Cortes in Caſtille, and of the orders iſſued to the admiral of St. Domingo; of the interpoſition of the Duke of Bejar, and the appointment of Luis Ponce de Leon. The licentiate, at this

period

period of which I am writing, had arrived at Medellin. The ſuddenneſs of his coming rather ſurpriſed Cortes, who, when he received the intelligence, was performing his devotions in the church of St. Francis. He earneſtly prayed to the Lord to guide him as ſeemed beſt to his holy wiſdom, and on coming out of the church ſent an expreſs to bring him information of all particulars. In two days after, the licentiate ſent him his Majeſty's orders to receive him as reſident judge in Mexico, and Cortes in conſequence thereof diſpatched a perſon with a meſſage of compliment, and deſiring to know which of the two roads to the city he intended to take, that he might make ſuch preparations as were proper for the reception of a perſon of his rank. The licentiate ſent him back an anſwer, thanking him for his polite offers, and declaring his intention to repoſe after the fatigues of his voyage, for a little time, where he was. This interval was buſily employed by the enemies of Cortes, who repreſented to the licentiate that it was his determination to put the factor and veedor to death, before his arrival, and that it was neceſſary for him to take good care as to his own perſon, for as to all theſe civilities of Cortes, they were only intended, by aſcertaining the road that he intended to take, under the colour of preparation to do him honour, the more effectually to ſucceed in his intention to aſſaſſinate him. They alſo miſrepreſented every tranſaction in which Cortes had been concerned.

The

The perſons whom the licentiate principally conſulted were the alcalde major Proano, a native of Cordova; and his brother the alcalde of the citadel, named Salazar de la Pedrada, who ſhortly after his arrival died of a pleuriſy; Marcos de Aguilar, a licentiate or bachelor; a ſoldier named Bocanegra de Cordova; and certain fathers of the order of St. Domingo, the provincial of whom was one Fra. Thomas Ortiz. He had been a prior ſomewhere that I do not now recollect, and all thoſe who came with him deſcribed him to be a man more fit for worldly affairs than thoſe which particularly concerned his holy office. With theſe perſons the licentiate conſulted as to his proceeding to Mexico, which they all were of opinion ſhould not be delayed an inſtant. Accordingly, the laſt meſſengers diſpatched by Cortes met him on the road at Iztapalapa. A ſumptuous banquet was here prepared for them, at which, after ſeveral abundant and magnificent ſervices, ſome cheeſe-cakes and cuſtards were placed upon the table, as great delicacies. They were ſo much approved of, and ſome of the company eat of them in ſuch quantities, that they made them ſick; but thoſe who eat of them in moderation were not at all affected. However this prior, Fra. Thomas Ortiz, aſſerted that they had been poiſoned with arſenic, and that he had not eaten of them from a ſuſpicion that they were ſo; but others who were preſent declared that he ſtuffed himſelf heartily with them, and ſaid that they were the beſt he had

ever

ever tasted. This new charge was immediately seized on and circulated by the enemies of Cortes, to throw an odium upon him.

During this time Cortes remained in Mexico. Report said that he had sent a good present of gold to the licentiate. This I cannot warrant; but as he had persons stationed to bring him intelligence, on his quitting Iztapalapa Cortes set out to meet him, with a grand and numerous retinue of all the officers and gentlemen of the city. When the two parties met, many civilities passed between the great men; the licentiate seemed to me to be well acquainted with the rules of politeness. It was with great difficulty that Cortes could prevail upon him to take the right hand. On his entry into the city he proceeded to the monastery of St. Francisco, business being deferred till the ensuing day. Cortes attended the licentiate to the palace prepared for him, where he entertained him most sumptuously; but his politeness and grandeur of manner was more striking than all the rest, insomuch that the licentiate observed privately to his friends, that Cortes must have been for a long time past exercising himself in the manners of a great man.

On the ensuing day, the council of Mexico, and all the civil and military officers, and the veteran soldiers, were assembled by order; and in their presence the licentiate Ponce de Leon produced his authority from his Majesty, which Cortes having kissed, and placed

placed upon his head in token of ſubmiſſion, they all declared their obedience to, as in duty bound. The licentiate then received and returned back the rod of juſtice, in token of the ſurrender of the government into his hands, ſaying to Cortes, "General, this go-"vernment I receive from you by his Majeſty's or-"ders, wherein however it is by no means implied "that you are not moſt worthy of this, or higher "truſts." To which the general replied, that he was always happy in obeying his Majeſty's commands, and that it was alſo a ſatisfaction to him, that he would be thereby enabled to prove the falſehood and malice of his enemies. The licentiate in anſwer ſaid, that where were good men, there were alſo bad, and ſuch was the world; but that to each would be repaid in kind. This was all the material buſineſs of the day. On the next, Cortes attended the ſummon of the new governor, who ſent it with much reſpect, and they had a conference, at which no one was preſent except the prior Thomas Ortiz; but it is ſaid and believed that the licentiate addreſſed Cortes to the following effect: He firſt obſerved that it had been his Majeſty's intention, that thoſe who had moſt merit in the conqueſt of this country ſhould be well provided for in the diſtribution of plantations, conſidering more eſpecially the ſoldiers who firſt came thither from Cuba; and that it had been underſtood that this was not the caſe, for that they had been neglected, while others newly arrived had wealth heaped upon them, without any juſt pretenſions. Cortes, to this, replied,

that

that all had got ſhares, but that ſome of theſe it was true turned out much inferior to others; however, it was in his power as governor now to rectify that. The governor then aſked him how it happened that he had left Luis de Godoy to periſh for want in a diſtant ſettlement, when the veterans ought to have been ſuffered to remain and enjoy the comforts of eſtabliſhed poſſeſſions in Mexico, and the new colonizations have been aſſigned to new comers. He alſo inquired how captain Luis Marin, Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo, and the others of his approved ſoldiers, had been taken care of. Cortes replied, that for buſineſs of danger it was uſeleſs to employ any but his veterans; but that they would ſoon be expected return to Mexico, being then upon their road thither. The governor next aſked him, rather ſharply, about his imprudent march againſt Chriſtoval de Oli, undertaken without his Majeſty's orders or permiſſion. To which Cortes anſwered, that he conſidered it to be neceſſary for his Majeſty's ſervice, as the dangerous effects of ſuch example among officers entruſted with ſeparate commands might be very extenſive, and that he had, previous to ſetting out, reported to his Majeſty his intention ſo to do. He then queſtioned Cortes as to the affairs of Narvaez, Garay, and Tapia, to all which Cortes gave ſuch ſatisfactory anſwers that the governor ſeemed to be well contented therewith.

After Cortes had retired, Fra. Thomas Ortiz called on three perſons, intimate friends of the general, and with great earneſtneſs told them the ſame which he on the enſuing morning told to Cortes himſelf; for, coming to him at that time, and deſiring to ſpeak to him in private, he then aſſured him, with many proteſtations of friendſhip, and wiſhes to ſerve him, that the governor had ſecret orders from his Majeſty immediately to behead him, and that he had thought it proper, in conformity with the duty of his ſacred function, as well as from his private regard, to give him early intelligence. This friendly communication it may be ſuppoſed gave Cortes a good deal to reflect upon: he had been informed of the intriguing and ſimulating character of the friar, and was induced to think that this might be done to induce him to give a bribe for his interceſſion. Others ſaid afterwards that Ortiz acted by the directions of the governor. Cortes, however, received his pretended friendly information with many thanks, declaring his hopes that his Majeſty had a different opinion of his ſervices, than to proceed againſt him in that manner, and that he had too high an opinion of the governor to ſuppoſe he would do any thing without warrant. When the friar found that his tricks were not attended by the effect that he had flattered himſelf with, he remained much confuſed, and did not know what to ſay.

He

The new governor iſſued public notice, that all who had complaints to make againſt the former adminiſtration of the country ſhould bring them forward, whether they were concerning Cortes, the civil or the military officers. In conſequence of this, a hoſt of accuſers, litigants and claimants ſtarted up. All the general's private enemies brought accuſations againſt him; others who had really juſtice on their ſide laid claim to what was due to them. Some alledged that they had not received their proper ſhares of gold; others that they had not been ſufficiently rewarded; and others demanded remuneration for their horſes killed in the wars, although they had gotten ten times the value in gold; and ſome demanded ſatisfaction for perſonal injuries. Juſt at the period, when the governor had opened his court to give a hearing to all the parties, it was God's will, and for our ſins and misfortunes, that he ſhould be taken ſuddenly ill of a fever, and a lethargy coming on him he remained in that ſtate four days. His three phyſicians then adviſed him to confeſs and receive the ſacrament, which he did with great devotion, and appointed, as his ſucceſſor in the government, Marcos de Aguilar, who had come with him from Caſtille. Some ſaid that the latter was only a bachelor, and not a licentiate, and therefore incapable of acting; however, the governor left him orders not to proceed further with the buſineſs of the court, but that all ſhould be laid before his Majeſty. On the ninth day from the time he was taken ill, the governor

gave

gave up his breath to our Lord. The whole city went into mourning on the occaſion. The military deplored his loſs with particular reaſon, for he certainly intended to redreſs all abuſes, and to reward us according to our merits.

I heard an anecdote of him, at the time of his death, and it was this: He was of a gay diſpoſition, and fond of muſic: to divert his lethargy, his attendants brought a lute, and played upon it in his apartment; and they ſaid that while they played him a favourite air, he beat time to it, and juſt as it was finiſhed he expired. What malignities and ſlanders were now circulated againſt Cortes, by his enemies in Mexico! they ſaid that he and Sandoval had poiſoned the governor, as he had before done Garay. The moſt buſy in this malicious affair was the friar Ortiz. It appeared as if the veſſel which brought them had been infected with the diſeaſe of which the governor died; above a hundred of thoſe who came in it having died at ſea, or after landing. All the friars, except a very few, were ſwept off, and the contagion pervaded the city of Mexico.

It was the wiſh of thoſe who were enemies to Cortes, that the inquiry ſhould be proceeded on in the ſame manner as was intended before the death of the late governor. Cortes aſſerted his readineſs, provided that the new governor Aguilar would take upon him the reſponſibility of acting contrary to the teſtament

ment of his predeceſſor. The council of Mexico however inſiſted that Aguilar was ineligible to that high ſituation, on account of his age, infirmities, and other incapacities, which indeed were pretty evident. They therefore recommended that Cortes ſhould be aſſociated with him; but he inſiſted on adhering ſtrictly to the letter of the teſtament of his predeceſſor, and Cortes was alſo entirely adverſe to taking any ſhare of the authority, for private reaſons, ſo that the whole weight reſted on this poor hectic old man, who was obliged to drink goat's milk, and to be ſuckled by a Caſtillian woman to keep him alive.

I will now go to a diſtance both in time and place, to relate that which happened to us on our journey to Mexico from Naco, where we were waiting to hear from Sandoval, who was to ſend us notice of the ſailing of Cortes, which intelligence we never received; Saavedra, I have already mentioned, maliciouſly ſuppreſſing the letters with which he was entruſted.

When our captain Marin and the reſt of us found that we were diſappointed in the receipt of our expected intelligence, we determined to ſend a party to Truxillo to learn the truth. Accordingly, ten of the cavalry, of which I was one, ſet out, and on our arrival at a place named Olancho, we learned from ſome Spaniards that Cortes had ſailed. This intelligence was ſoon after confirmed to us in a communication we had with Saavedra; we therefore returned to our captain

captain Marin with the good news, and ſoon after we all ſet out with joyful hearts for Mexico. I recollect we threw ſtones at the country we left behind us.

On our way, at a place called Maniani, we met five ſoldiers who had been ſent by Alvarado in ſearch of us. They were commanded by one of our veterans, named Diego de Villanueva, a brave ſoldier. As ſoon as we had recognized each other, and ſaluted, we inquired for his captain, Alvarado, who he informed us was not far diſtant, and whom accordingly, after two days' march farther, we fell in with. Our meeting took place at the town of Cholulteca Malalaca, and a third party joined us there, compoſed of captains under Pedro Arias de Avila, who met Alvarado's party to adjuſt ſome difference about bounds. We remained here together for three days. Alvarado at this time ſent one Gaſpar Arias de Avila, a confidential friend of his, to treat with captain Pedro Arias, about ſome particular buſineſs, I believe relative to a marriage; for captain P. A. de Avila ſeemed much devoted to Alvarado.

Continuing our march, we croſſed a hoſtile country, where the natives killed one of our ſoldiers, and wounded three others. The want of time prevented our puniſhing them as they deſerved. Further on, in Guatimala, they had alſo manned the paſſes againſt us, and we were detained three days in forcing our way. Here I received a wound of an arrow, but it

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was of little conſequence. We then arrived at the valley where the city of Guatimala is now built, the people of which were all hoſtile. I recollect that here we had a number of ſhocks of an earthquake, very long in their duration, and ſo violent as to throw ſeveral of the ſoldiers to the ground.

When we paſſed old Guatimala, the natives had aſſembled to give us an hoſtile reception, but we drove them away before us, and took poſſeſſion of their magnificent dwellings and quadrangles, for that night, and on the enſuing day we hutted ourſelves on the plain, where we halted for ten days; during which time Alvarado ſent ſummons to the neighbouring Indians, to come in and ſubmit. We delayed here to receive their anſwers, which none of them thought proper to ſend. We then proceeded on our journey by long marches, until we reached the ſtation of Alvarado's main force, at Olintepeque. After halting there for ſome days we proceeded on towards Mexico, by Soconuzco and Teguantepeque. On this march we loſt two of our Spaniards, and the Mexican lord Juan Velaſquez, who had been a chief under Guatimotzin.

When we arrived at Guaxaca, we learned the news of the death of the governor Ponce de Leon. Anxiouſly preſſing forward for Mexico, we arrived at Chalco, from whence we ſent forward meſſengers to Cortes to inform him of our approach, and requeſting

ing that he would provide us good quarters, which we much required, for it was now two years and three months ſince we ſet out upon our expedition. As Cortes knew of our approach, he rode out with many cavaliers to meet us on the cauſeway, and accompany us into the city. We went, on our arrival, to the great church, to return our thanks to God. From thence we attended the general to his palace, where he had a ſumptuous entertainment provided for us. Alvarado went to his reſidence in the fortreſs, of which he had been appointed alcalde. Luis Marin went to lodge with Sandoval, and I and another friend named captain Luis Sanchez, were taken by Andrez de Tapia to his houſe. Sandoval and all our friends, and Cortes among the reſt, ſent us preſents of neceſſaries, as alſo gold and cocoa for our expenſes.

On the next day my friend and I, accompanied by Sandoval and Andres de Tapia, proceeded to wait upon the governor Aguilar, who received us with much politeneſs, but declared his inability to make any new arrangements, the whole being left to his Majeſty's arbitration; but that if he was authoriſed, he would do every thing that lay in his power to give us ſatisfaction. At this time arrived from the iſland of Cuba, Diego de Ordas, whom I have already mentioned as the circulator of the report of our deaths. He was ſeverely taxed for his impropriety, but moſt ſolemnly denied it to us, averring that he had only written an account of the unfortunate affair

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at Xicalonga as it really happened, and any misrepresentation that was made, the factor was accountable for; and for the truth of what he asserted he referred to his letters. Cortes had at this time too much business on his hands to embarrass himself any further with this; he therefore thought proper to drop it, and endeavour to rescue his property, which had been disposed of upon the supposition of his death. A great part of it had been appropriated to the expenses of celebrating his funeral service, and to the saying masses for his soul and ours, to give credit to the report; and these perpetual masses which had been so purchased out of the property of Cortes upon the supposition of his death, and for the good of his soul, were now, that he was found to be alive, and no longer to be in need of them, purchased by one Juan de Caceres, for the benefit of his own soul, whenever he was to die; so that Cortes was more removed from the re-attainment of his property than ever.

Ordas, who was a wise man, and one of experience in worldly affairs, seeing that Cortes was neglected, and had fallen in public estimation since his being superseded by the governor Ponce de Leon, advised him to assume more consequence, and a more stately appearance, than his natural disposition prompted him to, in order to maintain the respect that was due to him; but such was his natural plainness of manners, that he never at any time liked to be called otherwise than simply, Cortes, and truly it was a great and no-

ble name in itſelf, and as much revered as Cæſar's and Pompey's in the time of the Romans, Hannibal's among the Carthaginians, or in our time that of Gonzalo Hernandez, or the moſt valiant and ever invincible Diego Garcia de Paredes. Ordas alſo informed Cortes of the report that was circulated through Mexico, of its being his intention to put the factor to death privately in jail; and he warned him of the man being powerfully patroniſed.

The treaſurer Eſtrada at this time married off two of his daughters; one to Jorge de Alvarado, another to Don Luis de Guzman, ſon to the Count de Caſtellar. It was then ſettled that Pedro de Alvarado ſhould go to Caſtille to ſolicit the government of Guatimala, and he in the mean time ſent his brother Jorge to that province with a force of our allies of different nations, to reduce it. The governor alſo about that period ſent a force againſt the province of Chiapa, under the command of Don Juan Enriquez de Guzman, a near relation of the duke of Medina Sidonia; another to the province of Tabaſco, under Balthaſar Oſſorio; and a third againſt the Zapotecan mountaineers, under Alonzo de Herrera, one of our veterans.

After lingering for eight months, the governor Marcos de Aguilar gave up the ghoſt, leaving by teſtament the treaſurer Alonzo de Eſtrada his ſucceſſor. At this time the council of Mexico, and many principal

cipal Spaniards, were ſolicitous that Cortes ſhould be aſſociated with the treaſurer in the government, the latter appearing entirely incompetent at the preſent juncture, more particularly for the following reaſon; Nuno de Guzman, who had for two years governed the province of Panuco, was a man of a moſt furious and tyrannical diſpoſition, arbitrarily extending the bounds of his juriſdiction, and putting to death all who dared to oppoſe his will. Thus Pedro Gonzalez de Truxillo, a perſon of noble condition, aſſerting with truth that his diſtrict was a dependency of Mexico, the other without any ceremony ordered him to be immediately hanged, which was accordingly done, contrary to all juſtice. He alſo put many other Spaniards to death, apparently for no reaſon except to make himſelf feared, and ſet the authority of the governor of Mexico at defiance. In order therefore to curb the inſolence of Guzman, it was the wiſh of many that Cortes ſhould take a ſhare in the government; but he was utterly adverſe to it, knowing the difficulties, and the dangerous power, and more dangerous malignity, of his enemies; for, as uſual, upon the death of Aguilar the ſtory was again induſtriouſly circulated, that it was owing to poiſon given him by Cortes.

It was determined, on the peremptory refuſal of the latter, that Sandoval, who was alguazil major, ſhould act conjointly with the treaſurer, and he was willingly accepted as an aſſociate by him. His firſt

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buſineſs on entering into office was, to endeavour to bring to juſtice one Ruano, who had fled from Mexico for ſome crime. He ſince became a rich man; for, eſcaping for the preſent, he eluded juſtice altogether, though Sandoval did his utmoſt to apprehend him.

Certain perſons, the inveterate and active enemies of Cortes, now perſuaded the treaſurer to write to Caſtille, to repreſent at court that he had been compelled by the influence of Cortes to aſſociate Sandoval with him in the government, contrary to his inclination, and to his Majeſty's ſervice. They by the ſame opportunity tranſmitted a volume of malignant falſehoods, which they had raked up againſt the general, ſuch as that he had poiſoned Luis Ponce de Leon, and Marcos de Aguilar, the governors, as alſo the adelantado Garay, and that he had endeavoured to adminiſter arſenic in cheeſecakes to a number of people at a feaſt; alſo, that he was plotting the ſecret murders of the veedor and factor in jail. All which lies were ſupported by the induſtry of the contador Albornos, who was then in Caſtille. He was alſo charged ſtrongly as to the death of his firſt wife: and theſe things being thus urged, Cortes was in part judged unheard, an order being ſent to releaſe the veedor and factor; and an officer named Don Pedro de la Cueva, commendador major of Alcantara, was ordered to go with three hundred ſoldiers, at the coſt of Cortes, and, in caſe of his guilt being proved, to inflict the puniſhment of death upon him, and diſtribute his property amongſt

amongſt the veteran conquerors of Mexico. This was however to be done under the judgment of a royal court of audience, to be preſent upon the ſpot for the purpoſe. All theſe preparations however ended in nothing; for neither Don Pedro de la Cueva, nor the court of royal audience, ever arrived.

The treaſurer was now greatly elevated by the countenance which he received at court, and which he attributed to his being conſidered a ſon of the catholic king. He diſpoſed of governments at his pleaſure, ſending his relation Mazariejos to make inquiry into the conduct of Don Juan Enriquez de Guzman in Chiapa, where they ſay more pillage and plunder took place than ought to have done. He alſo ſent a force againſt the Zapotecans and Minxes under one De Barrios, ſaid to be a brave ſoldier, and who had ſerved in Italy, I do not mean Barrios of Seville, the brother-in-law of Cortes. This officer marched againſt them with a hundred ſoldiers, but the natives ſurpriſed him one night, and killed him, with ſeven more of the party. Such was the difference between us, the veteran conquerors, and theſe raw, half-formed ſoldiers, who did not know the arts and ſtratagems of the enemy. The governor alſo ſent a hundred of the new ſoldiers, under the command of a particular friend named Figuero, to the province of Guaxaca. On his route by the Zapotecans, Figuero fell in with a captain left in command there by Marcos de Aguilar, named Alonzo Herrera, and ſome diſpute ariſing between

between them, ſwords were drawn, Herrera wounding Figuero and three other ſoldiers who were with him. Figuero, finding himſelf not able to go into the field, and his ſoldiers not being fit for expeditions in the mountains, thought proper to ſearch for and break open the ſepulchres, in which the ancient chiefs of thoſe countries were interred, to make prize of the gold, which, according to cuſtom, was buried with them. In this manner he collected to the value of above one hundred thouſand crowns, and with this wealth, which was increaſed by preſents, he ſet off for Mexico, leaving the provinces in a worſe ſtate than he found them. From Mexico he went to Vera Cruz, and embarking for Caſtille, the veſſel in which he ſailed was loſt in a gale of wind, and he and all his wealth went to the bottom. The buſineſs of ſubjecting theſe Indians was finally left to us, the conquerors of Guacacualco, who at length brought them to peace; for their cuſtom was to ſubmit during the ſummer, and to break into rebellion as ſoon as the torrents made their country inacceſſible. I was on three expeditions againſt them. The town of St. Alfonſo is now built there, to keep them in ſubjection.

When the governor heard how his friend had been maltreated by Herrera, he ſent the officers of juſtice to apprehend him: he however eſcaped to the rocks and woods, but they took a ſoldier who uſed to accompany him, and brought him priſoner to Mexico, where,

where, without a hearing, the governor ordered his right hand to be ſtruck off. His name was Cortejo, and by birth he was a gentleman.

A ſervant of Sandoval alſo at this time wounded a ſervant of the treaſurer, in a quarrel. The treaſurer had him arreſted, and commanded his right hand to be cut off. Cortes and Sandoval were at this time at a place called Quernavaca, partly from motives of prudence. On hearing of this inſult they poſted off to Mexico, and it is ſaid that Cortes uſed ſuch expreſſions to the treaſurer upon the ſubject, as to put the latter in fear of his life. He called his friends about him to form a guard for his perſon, and immediately releaſed the veedor and factor from jail. By their advice the governor was then induced to iſſue an order for the inſtant expulſion of Cortes from Mexico. This being repreſented to Cortes, he declared his readineſs to obey, ſince it was the will of God, that he who had gained that city, at the expenſe of his beſt blood, by day and by night, ſhould be baniſhed from it by the baſe and unworthy: and that he would ſet out immediately, and demand juſtice from his Majeſty.

Inſtantly therefore, quitting the city, he went to one of his country reſidences at Cuyoacan, from whence in a few days he proceeded towards the coaſt. At this time the lady of the treaſurer, a perſon well worthy of memory for her many virtues, ſeeing the dangerous

dangerous conſequences likely to reſult from his abſurd and arbitrary conduct, expoſtulated with him on it, reminding him of the many favours he had received from Cortes, the ingratitude with which he had repaid him, and the many friends that Cortes had. Theſe repreſentations are ſaid to have operated on the mind of the treaſurer, ſo as to cauſe ſincere repentance of the ſteps that he had taken.

At this time arrived in New Spain Fra. Julian Garrios, firſt biſhop of Tlaſcala, and who, in honour to our lord the moſt chriſtian Emperor, was named Carolenſe. When this reverend prelate heard of the proceedings of the governor againſt Cortes, he was highly diſpleaſed with them, and two days after his arrival in Mexico, where he was received with great pomp, at the requeſt of the governor he undertook to mediate betwixt them. Many of theſe ſeditious perſons, ſuch as there are in all ſocieties, knowing the diſſatisfaction of Cortes, offered him their ſervices if he would ſet himſelf up as an independent monarch in New Spain. Theſe people he immediately arreſted, threatening to put them to death; and he wrote directly to the biſhop of Tlaſcala, to inform him of the treaſon. He had alſo received ſimilar offers from Mexico, which he treated in the ſame manner. The reports of what was going on, however, ſo terrified the veedor and factor, who did not know to what extent Cortes might be induced to go, that they became inceſſant in their ſolicitations to the governor

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to accelerate the departure of the biſhop of Tlaſcala. This prelate, having waited upon Cortes, and found every part of his conduct perfectly to his ſatisfaction, wrote back to Mexico to inform the government there of the reſult of his obſervations; the unalterable determination of Cortes to go to Old Spain, and a ſevere cenſure from himſelf, upon the miſconduct of thoſe who had been the cauſe of his quitting Mexico. I do not know whether Cortes returned to that city in order to arrange his private concerns, but he appointed ſeveral agents for that purpoſe, the principal of whom was the licentiate Altamirano. He brought with him from Mexico many curioſities of the country for his Majeſty, ſuch as various kinds of birds unknown in Europe, two tigers, many barrels of ambergris and indurated balſam, and another kind that reſembled oil, four Indians expert at playing the ſtick with their feet, other Indian dancers who had a manner of appearing as if they flew in the air, three humpbacked dwarfs of extraordinary deformity, and alſo ſome male and female Indians whoſe ſkins were remarkable for their whiteneſs, and who have a natural defect of viſion. He was alſo attended by ſeveral young chiefs of the Tlaſcalan and Mexican nations, whom he conſented to take to Europe with him, at their own requeſts.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IX.

Cortes goes to Europe; is created Marquis of the Valley of Guaxaca. Account of various Tranſactions and Occurrences in Old and New Spain. Death and Character of the Marquis of the Valley.

CORTES now received letters from the preſident of the Indies, the Duke of Bejar, and ſeveral other of his friends, informing him of the neceſſity of his appearance in Caſtille, to do away the malignant accuſations of his enemies. Others alſo informed him of the death of his father Martin Cortes. Having performed the funeral obſequies to his father, he ordered two ſhips to be purchaſed, which he ſtored with ſuch quantities of proviſions of every kind, that the overplus, when he arrived in Spain, would have ſufficed for a two years' voyage.

For making theſe preparations he employed his major domo, who was named Eſquival. This officer, croſſing the lake of Mexico to Ayotcingo in a large canoe, with ſix Indian rowers and one Negro, and having ſome ingots of gold in his poſſeſſion, was waylaid and murdered ſomewhere on the lake. The manner of his death never was known, neither canoe, Indians or Negro ever being traced. The body of Eſquival was found four days after in a ſmall iſland, half eaten by birds of prey. There were many ſuſpicions

cions entertained about this affair. The man was ſaid to be a great boaſter of the favours he received from the ladies. There were alſo other bad ſtories told of him, which gave riſe to ſuſpicions of ſuch a nature as I cannot relate. No great inquiry was made as to his death. God pardon him his ſins! Cortes appointed other officers to complete the preparations for his voyage. He offered by proclamation a free paſſage to all ſuch Spaniards as obtained a permiſſion from the government to go to Caſtille, and a ſupply of proviſions to them on the voyage.

All things being ready, and having confeſſed and comulgated, he embarked, in company with Sandoval, Tapia, and other cavaliers, and after a voyage of forty-one days arrived in Europe, diſembarking near the town of Palos. As ſoon as he ſet his foot on ſhore, he fell on his knees to return thanks to God for his mercies. His arrival in Old Spain was in the month of December, in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſeven. To good fortune ſucceeded grief, by the death of the brave captain Sandoval, after a lingering ſickneſs, at his lodgings in the houſe of a rope maker at Palos, who, in his preſence, robbed him of thirteen bars of gold. This rogue, perceiving his weak ſituation, ſent his ſervants on a pretended meſſage from Sandoval to Cortes, who was then at Nueſtra Senora de la Ravida, and having the houſe to himſelf, went into Sandoval's room, and breaking open his cheſt, took out the gold, while our

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poor friend lay in bed unable to reſiſt him, and apprehenſive, if he made any outcry, that the fellow would ſmother him in the bed-clothes. As ſoon as he had got the gold he made his eſcape with it into Portugal, where he could not be purſued. Cortes ſhortly after arrived, and was informed of what had happened, but purſuit was too late. Sandoval then grew worſe every hour, and the phyſicians recommended confeſſion; which being done, and having received the holy ſacrament, in a ſhort time after he gave up the ghoſt, but not before he made a will, whereby he left his property to a ſiſter, who afterwards married a natural ſon of the Count de Medellin. Sandoval died univerſally regretted. His funeral was attended by a great train of mourners, among whom was Cortes. God pardon him his ſins! Amen.

Cortes ſent an expreſs to his Majeſty, and alſo to his patrons at court, informing them of his arrival, and alſo of the death of his friend Sandoval, whoſe merits and ſervices were known to his Majeſty, and for whoſe loſs he was pleaſed to expreſs great regret. The duke of Bejar and the Count of Aguilar, on receiving the intelligence, waited on his Majeſty, but found him in poſſeſſion of it by the letter of Cortes. His Majeſty ſeemed to have at preſent a conviction of that officer's loyalty, for which his friend the duke of Bejar had been three times obliged to engage his life; for he was pleaſed to order that in all

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the cities and towns through which Cortes paſſed, he ſhould be received with the higheſt honour.

When he arrived at Seville he was entertained there by the duke of Medina Sidonia, who made him a preſent of ſeveral beautiful horſes. From thence he proceeded, to attend the nine days' devotions to our Lady of Guadeloupe. Donna Maria, wife of the commendador Don Franciſco de los Cobos, with many other ladies of great rank, arrived at the ſame time. As ſoon as Cortes had paid his devotions, given charity to the poor, and ordered maſs to be ſaid, he went, attended by all his retinue of cavaliers, to pay his reſpects to Donna Maria, the beautiful lady her ſiſter, and the many others of diſtinguiſhed rank who were in her company. Here Cortes had an opportunity of exhibiting that politeneſs, gallantry, and generoſity, in which he ſurpaſſed all men. He made preſents of golden ornaments of great value to all, but more eſpecially to Donna Maria and her ſiſter: and to each lady he gave a penache of green feathers, richly ornamented with gold. He then produced his Indian dancers who threw the ſtick from one foot to another, to the aſtoniſhment of the ſpectators, and, in addition to all this, underſtanding that one of the mules belonging to the ſiſter of Donna Maria was unable to travel, he cauſed to be purchaſed for her two of the fineſt that could be procured for money. He alſo waited the departure of thoſe ladies for the court, attending them upon the journey, and providing magnificent

magnificent entertainments for them, the honours of which he did with a grace peculiar to himſelf; inſomuch that Donna Maria de Mendoza began to entertain thoughts of an alliance between her ſiſter and Cortes. However, in marriages as in other caſes, it is the hand of God which leads us, and therefore no more need be ſaid upon the ſubject. Donna Maria was ſo taken with the politeneſs and generoſity of Cortes, that ſhe wrote to the commendador of Leon, ſaying, that the fame of Cortes and his heroic actions was far ſhort of the judgment which muſt be formed of him, by thoſe who had the good fortune of his acquaintance; and brought over her huſband completely to his intereſt.

When our general arrived at court, his Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint the apartments to receive him, and his friends came out in a body to meet him on the road. On the enſuing day he went by permiſſion to throw himſelf at his Majeſty's feet, being attended by the duke of Bejar, the admiral of the Indies, and the commendador of Leon. His Majeſty commanded him to riſe, and Cortes, after a ſhort enumeration of his ſervices, and vindication of his conduct from the aſperſions of his enemies, preſented a memorial wherein the whole was fully detailed. His Majeſty, having received it, commanded him to riſe, and immediately honoured him with the title of Marquis del Valle and the order of St. Jago. He alſo gave him an eſtate to maintain his new dignity, and confirmed him captain-general

general of New Spain and of the South Seas. Cortes, thus loaded with honours, retired from the royal preſence to receive in a few days a ſtill greater than all. Shortly after his arrival in Toledo he fell dangerouſly ill: when the Emperor heard it, he did him the honour of paying him a viſit in perſon. He however recovered in a ſhort time, and the particular favour of his Majeſty encouraged him to aſſume a rank and character equal to his high title. One Sunday that his Majeſty was at maſs in the cathedral, and ſeated according to cuſtom with his nobility each in his proper ſtation, Cortes, deſignedly as it is ſaid, came there late, and after all were ſeated; and, paſſing before the whole of them, took his place next to the Count de Naſao, who was neareſt to the Emperor. This gave great offence to many, though others ſaid it was by the Emperor's deſire. Indeed, Cortes began to feel his elevation ſo much, that it made him not hold ſome of his former patrons in the eſtimation he ought, all his attention being beſtowed on the duke of Bejar, the count de Naſao, and the admiral. Thinking that now the ball was at his foot, with the ſupport of ſuch great men, he applied to the Emperor for the government of New Spain. This requeſt, though ſupported by his patrons, did not ſucceed, his Majeſty thinking he had done ſufficiently, and that ſome of his attention was due to thoſe conquerors by whoſe aſſiſtance he had gained that country. From this time Cortes did not ſeem ſo much in favour as before.

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His Majeſty was then proceeding on his journey to Flanders. After his departure, the marriage took place between the Marquis del Valle, and Donna Juana de Zuniga, on which occaſion he preſented his lady with the moſt magnificent jewels that ever had been in Caſtille. Her Majeſty, Qeen Iſabella, from the account given by the lapidaries, expreſſed a wiſh to have ſome, which Cortes accordingly preſented her with, but it is ſaid that they were not ſo fine or ſo valuable as thoſe which he gave to his lady.

I will now relate ſome other circumſtances, ſuch as I have heard concerning him while he reſided in Caſtille. One was, that Queen Iſabella was not his friend, on account of the appearances of ingratitude in his conduct to his patrons, and alſo in conſequence of the inferiority of the preſents which he made her. However, ſhe ordered, in the Emperor's abſence, that he ſhould have every ſupport from the council of the Indies. Cortes at this time obtained permiſſion to fit out two ſhips on a voyage of diſcovery to the South Seas, with a condition that he ſhould enjoy certain rights and revenues from whatever lands were acquired to the crown of Spain. Don Pedro de la Cueva was at this time at court; this was the officer who was to have gone to Mexico to try, and, if found guilty, to execute, Cortes. They were now on the moſt amicable and intimate footing. Don Pedro told him that even his innocence would have been ſufficiently expenſive to him, as the coſts of the expedition,

tion, which he muſt have paid, amounted to upwards of three hundred thouſand crowns. All thoſe, and other particulars, we received an account of in private letters, as well from the Marquis del Valle, as from other perſons. He now ſent a gentleman to Rome, to kiſs the feet of his Holineſs Pope Clement, and with a rich preſent of gold, ſilver and jewels. He alſo ſent ſome of the Indians who played with the ſtick, and a full memorial of all circumſtances, concerning the newly diſcovered country. He alſo took this opportunity to ſupplicate for a partial remiſſion of the tithes of New Spain.

This gentleman, Juan de Herrada, was a brave ſoldier, who attended Cortes in his expedition to Honduras. After he returned from Europe he went to Peru, where Don Diego de Almagro left him in the office of governor to his ſon. He was highly in the confidence of this family, and ſerved as maeſtre de campo to the young Almagro; he was alſo captain of the party which killed Don Franciſco Pizarro the elder.

His Holineſs, on the receipt of the letters, returned thanks to God for the opportunity of making ſo many thouſand converts to the holy faith. He alſo praiſed the ſervices rendered by us to the church and our monarch, and ſent us bulls of indulgence from penalties of our ſins, with others for churches and hoſpitals. In regard to the tithes, I do not know what was

done. The Indians were brought to dance before his Holineſs and the cardinals, who expreſſed their high ſatisfaction at their performances. After Herrada had concluded his buſineſs at Rome, he returned with a liberal reward from Pope Clement, who gave him the title and rank of count palatine, and wrote by him, ſtrongly requeſting for him a grant of a conſiderable plantation in New Spain, which he never received, and in conſequence went to Peru.

While Cortes was in Caſtille, the members of the royal court of audience arrived in Mexico. Nuno de Guzman, formerly governor of Panuco, was the preſident. The oydors were, four licentiates, by name Matienzo, Delgadillo, Maldonado, (I do not mean Alonzo Maldonado the good, who was governor of Guatimala) and Parada. Theſe magiſtrates from their firſt arrival ſhewed a determination to do juſtice. They were armed with greater powers than any officers ever ſent by his Majeſty to New Spain. They were alſo entruſted with the management of the final partition of landed property, wherein his Majeſty had particularly charged them to take care of the intereſts of the conquerors. On their arrival, they iſſued a proclamation, requiring the attendance of an agent from each ſettlement, with memorials and returns of the ſeveral diſtricts. The agents all arrived in the courſe of a few days. I was then in Mexico on my office of procurador ſindico of the town of Guacacualco; I poſted off to the laſt mentioned place, in order

to

to attend at the election of the agents, about which there was a violent conteſt; but plurality of voices decided it in favour of captain Luis Marin and myſelf. When we arrived at Mexico we found that two of the oydors were dead of pleuriſies, and that the factor Salazar had acquired ſo complete an aſcendency over the others, that they did nothing but as he adviſed them. It was lucky for Cortes that he was not at Mexico; the death of the two oydors would have been certainly laid to his charge.

The agents now called loudly for a final repartition; but the factor had perſuaded the preſident and oydors not to agree to that which would be a diminution of their influence, by taking ſo much patronage out of their hands. It was alſo ſettled, that Salazar ſhould go to Europe to ſolicit the government of New Spain for the preſident Guzman. He actually ſailed, but, being overtaken by a ſtorm, was ſhipwrecked on the coaſt near Guacacualco, from whence he returned to Mexico. The treaſurer Eſtrada died in a ſhort time after his being ſuperſeded, which he was more by his own tameneſs than from any right they could prove from his Majeſty's orders; for they were, that he ſhould govern ſolely; nor was any thing ſaid of aſſociating Guzman with him; whereas the latter uſurped the government to himſelf entirely, from the time he was appointed preſident of the court. He was much regretted by all, having conducted himſelf in ſuch

ſuch a manner as to give univerſal ſatisfaction; nor would he have wanted ſupport if he had inſiſted on maintaining his office.

A commiſſion was appointed at Guatimala, where Jorge de Alvarado was eſtabliſhed, but I do not know the reſult of it.

In Mexico they proceeded with great ſeverity againſt the Marquis del Valle. The factor eſpecially took the opportunity to revile and ſlander him in the groſſeſt manner, and fouleſt expreſſions. The Marquis's friend, the licentiate Altamirano, remonſtrated with the court upon theſe indecencies, but to no good effect, for the factor, countenanced by Guzman and the reſt, became more abuſive than before. The court was thereby thrown into confuſion; for Altamirano was at laſt ſo provoked as to draw his poniard, and would have put the factor to death, had it not been for the interference of thoſe preſent. Altamirano was carried to the fortreſs, the other was ſent to his houſe, and the whole city was in an uproar. The licentiate, upon our ſupplication, was at the end of three days releaſed from confinement, and the preſent matter was made up: but a greater ſtorm ſucceeded; for at this time there arrived in Mexico one Zavalos, a relation of the captain Pamphilo de Narvaez, who had been ſent by the wife of the latter in queſt of her huſband, who had gone as governor to the river of Palmas, and was ſuppoſed to have been loſt

loſt or dead. When Zavalos arrived in Mexico, inſtigated as is ſuppoſed by the members of the court, he lodged informations againſt all the ſoldiers of Cortes who had been concerned in the attack upon Narvaez. Of courſe nearly the whole of us who were in the city, and myſelf amongſt the reſt, amounting in all to about two hundred and fifty, were apprehended, brought to trial, and convicted. We were ſentenced to pay a fine of a certain quantity of gold, and to be baniſhed to the diſtance of five leagues from Mexico. However, the ſentence was but ſlightly enforced, the baniſhment being remitted, and very few paying the fine.

The enemies of the Marquis del Valle now took a new ground of attack againſt him, which was, that he had embezzled the treaſure of Montezuma and Guatimotzin, and that he was anſwerable to the ſoldiers, not only for that which he had appropriated to his own uſe, but alſo for that which he had ſent to Europe as a preſent to his Majeſty, and which had been captured by the corſair Juan Florin. A long catalogue of other demands followed, every one of which he was condemned upon, and his property ſold for the payment. One Juan Xuares his brother-in-law was alſo at this time brought forward, to demand juſtice in open court for the murder of his ſiſter Donna Catalina; offering to produce witneſſes of the manner of her death. Many of us the friends of the Marquis, ſeeing the attacks that were made againſt him,

him, met by appointment, and under the licence of an alcalde, at the houſe of one Garcia Holguin, where we entered into a reſolution to renounce all claim to the treaſure; but when the oydors heard our buſineſs, they ordered us all to be arreſted, as they alledged, for meeting without permiſſion. We produced to them the licence which we had obtained for the purpoſe, but they, to keep up appearances, baniſhed us to the diſtance of five leagues from Mexico. We were however allowed to return; though we ſtill thought ourſelves hardly treated enough.

New matter for confuſion was now brought forward; a proclamation was iſſued that all perſons of Indian deſcent, or of that of Moors, who had been burned or enſanbenited * by the holy inquiſition, as far as the fourth degree from their anceſtors who had thus ſuffered, ſhould quit New Spain within four months from the date thereof, on pain of loſing one half of their properties. It was moſt wonderful to ſee what hoſts of accuſers and informers ſtarted up at once on this occaſion, and what ſlanders and infamies were brought forward. At laſt it ended in the expulſion of two individuals.

The court was generous in fulfilling his Majeſty's commands, in regard to the old conquerors, who were all well provided for; the greateſt error it committed

* San Benito; a dreſs put on criminals.

mitted was, the exceſſive licence given to the branding ſlaves. So many were made in the province of Panuco that it became almoſt depopulated. The preſident Guzman, who was of a noble and liberal diſpoſition, made a new year's gift of a whole diſtrict, named Guazpaltepeque, to Albornos, who was newly returned from Spain. He brought with him his Majeſty's patent, under which he erected ſome ſugar works in Cempoal, which went to ruin after a few years. The oydor Delgadillo was cenſured on account of his free gifts, for it was noticed that ſome rent was reſerved to himſelf in them, and the conſequent extortions and oppreſſions of thoſe he patroniſed were exceſſive. The conduct of Guzman was equally reprehenſible; as to the other oydor, Matienzo, he was ſuperannuated. The abuſes of this court came at length to ſuch an exceſs, that it was thought proper by the higher powers in Europe completely to ſuperſede it, and ſubſtitute one compoſed of perſons of more diſcretion. Old Matienzo who was the leaſt objectionable, was ſent to Panuco to inquire into and remedy the abuſes which had been committed there. This officer ordered accounts or liſts of the ſlaves to be drawn out, to prevent them from being arbitrarily tranſported from one province to another, and he revoked the grants which the preſident and the other oydor had made to their friends and clients, beſtowing the plantations upon thoſe perſons who were pointed out by his Majeſty's inſtructions. Every one then who had acquired the plantations which they were to deliver

deliver up, inſiſted that they had been granted as a reward of former merits, the proofs of which they endeavoured to adduce, and utterly diſclaimed all patronage or protection from the preſident and oydor. The confuſion was extreme. However, many, if not almoſt all, ſucceeded in keeping what they had got, the only perſons deprived being Albornos of his new year's gift, one Villaroel, and Villegas.

As ſoon as the members of the court heard that they were to be ſuperſeded, they reſolved to diſpatch agents to Caſtille with plenty of witneſſes, ſuch as were fit and well prepared for their purpoſe, to vouch for the propriety of their conduct. It was determined to proceed to the election of the agents who were to be ſent on this occaſion, and for this purpoſe all the veteran conquerors, with many other perſons of conſideration, met in the great church, where the perſon was to be choſen by vote. Guzman and the oydors recommended the factor Salazar, and although they had committed ſome improprieties, yet as they had in the main acted ſo well by us in the diſtribution of property, we were all well inclined to vote for the perſon recommended by them, and which they expected us to do. When we had all aſſembled for the purpoſe in the great church, there was ſuch a noiſe and outcry ſet up by perſons who had no buſineſs there, but had crowded in, that it was hardly poſſible to proceed to the election. It was ordered that all who had not been ſummoned ſhould quit the place, but

but it was to no effect; they would not go, and at laſt the queſtion was obliged to be put to the whole. Since thoſe who had no buſineſs there would neither quit the place nor be ſilent, it may be judged what kind of an election it was. When we perceived how matters were going, it was agreed amongſt us to adjourn until the following day, at the houſe of the preſident of the council, and none were ſummoned but perſons of one way of thinking. Of courſe it was amicably decided. In conſequence of an adjuſtment, two agents were to be choſen, one, Anthonio de Carvajal, on the part of the oydors, and another, Bernardino Vaſquez de Tapia, on that of Cortes. However, it appeared to me that both were equally devoted to the views of the preſident; and it was natural enough, for the latter had rendered much more ſervice to our intereſt in his ſhort time, than Cortes had done during the long period of his power. But ſuch is the natural loyalty of the Spaniards, that we were more attached to Cortes, from his having been our captain, than he was to our intereſts, although he had his Majeſty's orders to attend to them. Of this a proof now occurred, for the preſident and oydors intrigued for an application to be made to his Majeſty, in manner of a petition, againſt the appointment or return of Cortes to New Spain, at any future time. The grounds upon which they moved it were, the dangers that would occur from public diſturbances and factions, which might end in the loſs of the country. This we oppoſed with all our might, and Alva-

rado, being at this time arrived in Mexico with the office of governor and adelantado of Guatimala, and a commandery of St. Jago, it was agreed between him and the friends of Cortes, to lay before his Majesty a statement of the whole affair, with the views of the members of the council; and it hereby appearing to the supreme court of the Indies, that all these measures were guided by passion and interest, it confirmed the original determination to supersede Guzman and the oydors. The presence of Cortes in Spain also at this period was highly favourable to his interests, and he now was rapidly proceeding to the pinnacle of his fortune.

When Nuno de Guzman had received certain intelligence from Old Spain of his being superseded, he determined to go upon an expedition to the province of Xalisco, now called New Gallicia. For this purpose he collected the greatest force that he was able in Mexico, partly of volunteers, and partly of such as he compelled to join him by the weight of power, of which he was not yet deprived. Those who did not serve personally he compelled to find or pay for substitutes, and those who had horses were obliged to give them for half their value. He brought with him a number of Mexicans as soldiers, or to convey his baggage, and cruelly oppressed the provinces through which he passed. In Mechoacan he obtained a great quantity of gold, which the inhabitants had collected and amassed for ages past; it was much lowered

ered in value by a mixture of ſilver. The unfortunate chief of the province, not being able to gratify his avarice to its full extent, he firſt commanded him to be put to the torture by burning his feet, and afterwards, upon ſome trifling and falſe allegations, cauſed him to be hanged; which was one of the wickedeſt and cruelleſt actions ever committed by an officer, and as ſuch it was conſidered by every Spaniard in his army. He brought from this province alſo a number of natives, loaded with booty, to the city of Compoſtello, which he founded at a heavy expenſe to his Majeſty and the inhabitants of Mexico. Here Guzman remained until his arreſt.

As I have before related, in conſequence of the injuſtice practiſed by the former court of audience, his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſuppreſs it and cancel all its grants. He alſo appointed a new one, compoſed of wiſe and upright members, whereof D. Sebaſtian Ramirez de Villaeſcaſa, biſhop of St. Domingo, was preſident, and the licentiates Maldonado de Salamanca, Zainos de Toro, Vaſco de Quiroga de Madrigal, afterwards biſhop of Mechoacan, and Solomon de Madrid, were oydors. Theſe officers being arrived, the court opened its ſittings, which was notified by a proclamation, in conſequence whereof there aſſembled ſuch crowds of complainants, from city, towns, and country, of all deſcriptions, ſettlers, agents, and native chiefs, alledging acts of partiality and oppreſſion againſt the former court, and demanding juſtice,

that

that the members were quite aſtoniſhed. The demands of the agents of Cortes for what had been unjuſtly alienated from him, if they had been all to be now repaid, would have amounted to above two hundred thouſand crowns. Nuno de Guzman being abſent, the whole blame was laid upon him by the other members of the old court, who alledged that they were compelled to act as he thought proper to order them. He was accordingly ſummoned to appear, which he did not think proper to do, and in the preſent circumſtances it was judged moſt expedient to refer the affair to the ſupreme court in Europe; which being done, a civil officer named Torre, a licentiate and native of Badajos, was ſent with full power to the province of Xaliſco, and with orders to tranſmit Guzman to Mexico, and commit him to the common gaol. He had alſo a commiſſion to indemnify us in the coſts which we had been fined upon the affair of Narvaez, and thoſe at the time that we were arreſted, as I have already related. But I will now take leave for the preſent of the licentiate Torre, and return to the affairs of the court.

The properties of Delgadillo and Matienzo were ſold to pay the damages of thoſe who had gained their cauſes againſt them, and their perſons were impriſoned for the deficiency. A brother of Delgadillo, who was alcalde major in Guaxaca, was fined and impriſoned for the ſame reaſon; he died in jail, as did another who was alcalde amongſt the Zapotecans: and certainly

certainly the new judges were ſo wiſe and juſt, that they conſidered nothing but what was in compliance with the will of God and his Majeſty. They alſo ſhewed a laudable anxiety for the converſion of the Indians to our holy faith, and immediately prohibited the branding them for ſlaves, and made many other good regulations. After four years thus employed, the oydors Solomon and Zaynos petitioned for leave to retire, being both of an advanced age, and very wealthy; and his Majeſty, in conſideration of their eminent ſervices, was pleaſed to grant their requeſt. The preſident alſo, by command of his Majeſty, repaired to Europe, to give an account of the affairs of this country. He was then biſhop of St. Domingo, but was advanced in ſucceſſion through the ſees of Toro, Leon, and Cuenca, with ſuch celerity, that the bulls had hardly a day's interval between them. He was alſo preſident of the royal chancery of Valladolid; and while in poſſeſſion of theſe honours he was ſeized by death, and placed in glory among the virtuous, according to the promiſe of our holy faith; for he was a true and upright judge. He had been, before his promotion to a biſhoprick, inquiſitor in Seville. The good conduct of the oydor Maldonado was rewarded with the government of the provinces of Guatimala, Honduras and Viragua, and with the title of adelantado of Yucatan; and the oydor Quiroga obtained the biſhoprick of Mechoacan. Such were the rewards of the good judges. Delgadillo

and

and Matienzo returned to Caſtille in poverty, where, as I have heard, they died in the courſe of two or three years.

At this time his Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint to the viceroyalty of New Spain the moſt illuſtrious and worthy cavalier, of praiſeworthy memory, D. Anthonio de Mendoza, brother to the marquis of Montejar. There alſo came as oydors the doctor Queſada, the licentiate Tejada de Logrono, and the licentiate Loayſa, native of Cuidad Real; he was an old man, and ſtayed three or four years in Mexico; and during that time having collected a good ſum of money, he took his leave of the country at the expiration of it, and returned to his home. There was alſo another licentiate who came out as oydor, who was named Santillana; but the licentiate Maldonado had not then vacated his office. All were excellent magiſtrates. As ſoon as they had opened the court, free inquiry was proclaimed into the conduct of their predeceſſors, which was found to be in every reſpect conformable to juſtice.

The Viceroy, on his arrival, knowing that the licentiate Torre was ſent out with orders to arreſt Nuno de Guzman, to ſave Guzman from that inſult ſent to him to come to Mexico, which he having complied with, the Viceroy aſſigned him apartments in his palace, and treated him with much politeneſs. Juſt about this time Torre arrived with his Majeſty's orders

ders to arreſt Guzman, but with directions to communicate them to the Viceroy. It ſeems that the licentiate did not find the ſupport to his ſtrong meaſures that he expected, and this exaſperating his natural violence, he in conſequence went to the Viceroy's palace, and there furiouſly ſeized, and dragged Guzman to the common jail, ſaying he did it by his Majeſty's order, and that he cared for nothing further. Here Guzman remained for ſeveral days, and was at laſt releaſed on the interceſſion of the Viceroy. It was well known that Torre had ſtrong powers given to him to act diſcretionarily in regard to Guzman.

This licentiate was much addicted to card playing, although he did not game deeply, playing only at triumpho and primero for paſtime. His propenſity being however well known, ſome friend of Guzman's took advantage of it, to mortify and turn him into ridicule; and the method which was taken to do it was as follows: The civilians at that time wore gowns with looſe hanging ſleeves, into one of which ſomebody maliciouſly put a pack of cards, and contrived it in ſuch a manner, that as Torre was walking acroſs the crowded ſquare of Mexico, in company with ſeveral perſons of quality, a dexterous twitch being given, the cards began to drop from his ſleeve, leaving a long trail of them after him as he went on. Thoſe who ſaw it laughed and called the attention of others to the cards coming out of the licentiate's ſleeve;

ſleeve; but when he found out what the joke was, and that he was the ſubject of it, being naturally choleric, it enraged him exceedingly, and he went off ſaying he ſaw clearly it was their intention to prevent his doing juſtice, but he would, though he died for it; and that his Majeſty ſhould know the indignity that had been offered to his officer. Either from vexation, or a calenture natural to the climate, with which he was ſeized juſt after this, he died in the courſe of a few days, whereby the affair of Guzman, luckily for him, was reſpited for the preſent.

Cortes having now been a long time in Caſtille, married to the niece of the duke of Bejar, advanced to the rank of marquis, captain general of New Spain, and admiral of the South Seas, became anxious to return to his eſtates in this country. He now embarked from Old Spain with his family and twelve reverend fathers of the order of Mercy, and after a proſperous voyage arrived at the port of Vera Cruz, where he did not experience the kind of reception he formerly met with. From thence he proceeded to Mexico, to preſent his patents to the Viceroy, and enter upon his offices. He alſo at this time made application upon a particular point relative to his Majeſty's grant of lands and towns. This point, which I do not well underſtand, I muſt leave to better judges. The grant ran thus: mentioning the diſtrict, it enumerated the inhabitants, by the word "vecinos," or neighbours, conſidered to belong to it, and who were to be his tributaries.

tributaries. Cortes underſtood that the head of the family only was conſidered as the vaſſal or "vecino," or that one only ſhould be counted for each houſe; but the oydor, doctor Quezada, who was ſent to allot his diſtrict, inſiſted that every male adult, maſter or head of family, ſon, ſervant, or ſlave, was to be counted in the number, and as there were frequently twelve or fifteen of thoſe to one houſe, the Marquis was much diſappointed, and ſeveral law-ſuits enſued. The matter was reported to his Majeſty, but continued in ſuſpenſe for ſeveral years, during which time the Marquis received his full rents, without any moleſtation. He retired to a place upon his eſtate, named Quernavaca, where he eſtabliſhed his reſidence, never returning to Mexico.

While Marcos de Aguilar had the government of New Spain, the Marquis del Valle fitted out four ſhips at Zacatula. They were well provided, loaded with various articles of merchandize, and commanded by Alvarado de Saavedra, who with two hundred and fifty ſoldiers took his courſe for the Molucca and Spice Iſlands, and China. This was by his Majeſty's command, as I can teſtify, the royal letters having been ſhown to me and many others. He was further ordered to cauſe ſearch to be made, during the courſe of his voyage, for a ſquadron which had ſailed from Caſtille for China, under the command of Don Garcia de Loayſa, commander of St. John of Rhodes. At the time that Saavedra was preparing for his ex-

pedition, a veſſel arrived belonging to this fleet, from the pilot and crew of which Saavedra acquired all the information he wanted, and, taking one pilot and two ſailors from this veſſel with him, he ſet ſail in December of one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſeven or twenty-eight, and ſuſtained many misfortunes, hardſhips, and loſſes, in the way to the Molucca iſlands. I do not know the particulars, but in three years afterwards I met with a ſailor who had been on board this fleet, and who told me many ſtrange and ſurpriſing things of the cities and nations he had ſeen during his voyage. Theſe are the countries to which they are now ſending expeditions from Mexico. I alſo heard that the Portugueſe had made priſoner Saavedra or ſome of his people, and brought them to Caſtille.

In the month of May, one thouſand five hundred and thirty-two, the Marquis del Valle ſent two ſhips from the port of Acapulco, to make diſcoveries in the South Seas. They were commanded by a captain named Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who, without going far to ſea, or doing any thing worthy of relating, had the misfortune of a mutiny among the troops, in conſequence whereof, one ſhip, of which the mutineers took poſſeſſion, as is ſaid, but very improbably, by the approbation of Hurtado himſelf, returned to New Spain, to the great diſappointment of Cortes. As for Hurtado, neither he nor his veſſel were ever more heard of.

After

After this, Cortes ſent off two other veſſels, one of which was commanded by a gentleman named Diego Bezerra de Mendoza; he was of the Bezerras of Badajos or Merida; the other was commanded by one Hernando de Grijalva. The principal pilot was one Ximenes, a Biſcayan, and a great coſmographer. The orders from the Marquis were, firſt to go in ſearch of Hurtado, and in caſe of not finding him, to go upon a voyage of diſcovery of new iſlands, eſpecially thoſe which were reported to be rich in pearls. The Biſcayan pilot, before they ſailed, was always telling the others how he would bring them to countries where they ſhould all make their fortunes. Many were weak enough to believe him. The firſt night after they left the port of Guantepeque, a gale of wind roſe and ſeparated the veſſels, which never afterwards joined company, Grijalva not chooſing to be under the command of Bezerra, who was very haughty. He had alſo another motive, in wiſhing to keep the merit of any diſcoveries he ſhould make, to himſelf. After ſailing two hundred leagues, he came to an iſland which was uninhabited, and which he named Santo Tome. Bezerra and his pilot Ximenes had a quarrel upon their voyage, and the former having made himſelf very odious by his domineering diſpoſition, the pilot formed a plot for the aſſaſſination of him and ſeveral more, which he put in execution one night as the captain and the others were ſleeping. The ſanguinary views of the conſpirators went much farther, but the interceſſion of two Franciſcan friars

ſaved

ſaved the lives of many who were already bleeding from their treachery, but whom, together with the friars, they determined to land in Xaliſco. Ximenes taking the command upon the death of Bezerra, and continuing his route, diſcovered an iſland to which he gave the name of Santa Cruz. It was ſaid that pearls were found on its coaſts. It was inhabited by ſavages, and here he determined to put the friars and thoſe whoſe lives had been ſpared at their interceſſion on ſhore, which he accordingly did, and being in want of water, he went to the ſhore at the ſame time in ſearch of it; they had been on the iſland but a very ſhort time when the natives came down upon them, and put every perſon they found to death, in view of thoſe on board the ſhip.

This gave the Marquis great vexation. He now determined not to truſt any one, but to go in perſon, having three ſhips ready to launch in the port of Guantepeque. When the Spaniards of thoſe countries ſaw that he intended to embark upon a voyage of diſcovery, they thought ſucceſs was certain, and numbers prepared to follow him as ſoldiers, above one hundred and thirty of whom were married men, and brought their wives with them. They were in all above three hundred and twenty, the women included. The Marquis left Mexico accompanied by Andres de Tapia and ſeveral other officers, ſome eccleſiaſtics, phyſicians, ſurgeons, and an apothecary, and having embarked, in the month of May, one thouſand

ſand five hundred and thirty-ſix, or ſeven, he ſet ſail for the iſland of Santa Cruz, with as many coloniſts and ſoldiers as the veſſels could contain; and having arrived there after a proſperous voyage, he ſent back the ſhips to bring the remainder of his people. The ſecond voyage was not ſo fortunate. They met with gales of wind, in which they were ſeparated near the river of St. Peter and St. Paul, one veſſel only arriving at the iſland of Santa Cruz, where the Marquis anxiouſly expected them, as the proviſions, of which he began to be in great want, were on board. Of thoſe veſſels which did not join him at Santa Cruz, one was ſtranded on the coaſt of Xaliſco, and the people on board being tired of the buſineſs quitted her there, moſt of them returning to New Spain. This was the one which contained the proviſions. The other came to a bay, which they named, from the quantity of guayavas, Guayaval.

During this time the Marquis and thoſe with him were famiſhing upon this uncultivated iſland. Twenty-three of the ſoldiers died of abſolute diſtreſs, and the reſt were ſinking every day, and curſing his expeditions and diſcoveries. Their ſituation and murmurs compelled him at length to go in ſearch of his ſhips, and he accordingly embarked with fifty ſoldiers, and judging that they muſt have been driven on the coaſt in the ſtorms, he ſearched in that direction, and after ſome time found one as before mentioned, ſtranded on the coaſt of Xaliſco, and abandoned by the

the people. The other was met with by him amongſt ſome rocks. Having got them repaired and afloat, with much trouble, he brought them to his iſland of Santa Cruz, and a quantity of proviſions being now ſerved out to the famiſhed ſoldiers, they eat thereof in ſuch a manner that the half of them died.

The Marquis, in order to avoid ſuch a ſcene of diſtreſs, embarked in purſuit of new diſcoveries, and during this voyage fell in with the land of California. He was by that time as heartily tired of the buſineſs as any one, but he could not bear the thoughts of returning, after ſuch expenſes and loſſes, without having effected ſomething, leſt his misfortunes ſhould be aſcribed to the curſes of the conquerors of Mexico, his ancient companions.

The marchioneſs del Valle, hearing of the loſs of one of the veſſels on the coaſt, grew very apprehenſive, and accordingly fitted out two ſhips, which ſailed under the command of one Ulloa, in ſearch of the Marquis and his ſquadron, with letters from his lady and the Viceroy earneſtly ſoliciting his return. Ulloa was fortunate enough to light upon him, and the Marquis ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed upon, and returned to Mexico by the port of Acapulco, leaving Ulloa in command of the ſquadron. His return rejoiced the Spaniards, who feared always that the native chiefs, not being awed by him, would break out into revolt. In a ſhort time after his arrival, the people

ple whom he had left in California returned, but I cannot ſay whether in conſequence of orders from the government or not.

After the Marquis had repoſed for a few months, he fitted out another expedition of two ſhips, under the command of Franciſco de Ulloa, already named by me, who ſailed from the port of Natividad in the month of June, of I forget what year, with orders to examine the coaſt of California, and to ſearch for captain Hurtado, who never had been heard of. Ulloa employed in this voyage about ſeven months, at the expiration of which he returned to Xaliſco, without having effected any thing; and going for a few days on ſhore to repoſe, a ſoldier, who bore a malice againſt him, took an opportunity to way-lay and aſſaſſinate him, and thus ended the diſcoveries of the Marquis del Valle, in which he expended, as I have heard him declare, above three hundred thouſand crowns.

In order to get ſome allowance from his Majeſty for this loſs, he determined to go to Caſtille; he had alſo other buſineſs which called him there, ſuch as the diſpute about his vaſſals, and the reſtitution of his property which had been ſeized by Nuno de Guzman, now priſoner in Old Spain. I will conclude this account by obſerving, that it appears that the Marquis never proſpered from the time of his firſt conqueſt of New Spain; and his ill fortune is aſcribed to the curſes with which he was loaded.

The

The Viceroy and court of royal audience had ſent out a military force, commanded by an officer named Franciſco Vaſquez Coronado, who married the virtuous and fair daughter of the treaſurer Eſtrada. Coronado left his government of Xaliſco to an officer named Onate, and after he had been for ſome months in the country to which he was ſent, and which was named Celibola, or the Seven Cities, a Franciſcan friar named Marcos de Nica returned from thence to Mexico to give an account of the country to the Viceroy. He deſcribed it as conſiſting of fine plains full of herds of cattle, but which were quite different in their appearance from thoſe of Caſtille. The houſes he deſcribed as having two ſtories, and ſtairs, and the towns as being populous. He alſo repreſented that, as it lay near the Pacific Ocean, a ſupply of neceſſaries could be ſent to the Spaniſh force, conveniently, in that direction. It was for this reaſon that three ſhips were ſent thither under the command of Hernando de Alarco, an officer in the Viceroy's houſehold.

I muſt not omit to mention the particulars of the great armament prepared by Don Pedro de Alvarado in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſeven, in the port of Acaxatla on the Pacific Ocean. This fleet was fitted out by Alvarado in conſequence of permiſſion obtained from his Majeſty, by whom he was granted certain rents and advantages in ſuch countries

countries as he ſhould diſcover towards the weſt; that is to ſay, China, the Molucca and Spice Iſlands.

Alvarado, being always zealous for his Majeſty's ſervice, as appeared by his conduct in Mexico and Peru, was anxious that this expedition ſhould exceed any other that had ever been fitted out. It conſiſted of thirteen ſail, amply provided. The port at which the preparations were made was above two hundred leagues diſtant from that of Vera Cruz, from which all the iron, and moſt other neceſſary articles, were to be brought by land carriage. The conſequence was, that the money expended would have built eighty ſuch ſhips in Seville. All the wealth Alvarado brought from Peru, what he got from the mines of Guatimala, with the rents of his eſtates, and the preſents of his friends and relations, were inſufficient, although the merchandize was taken upon credit. The expenſe attending the ſhips was nothing in compariſon to that of his army, conſiſting of ſix hundred and fifty ſoldiers with their officers, and a number of horſes, of which latter a good one could not be procured for leſs than three hundred crowns. Alvarado ſailed ſome time in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-eight, for the harbour of the Purification, in the province of Xaliſco, where he was to take in water, and embark more ſoldiers. When the Viceroy heard of this great armament, he became anxious to have a ſhare in it, and

went with Alvarado to view his fleet, after which they returned to Mexico.

Alvarado wiſhed to have a relation of his own, named Juan, (not the Juan de Alvarado of Chiribito) as general, and the Viceroy was anxious that an officer named Villalobos ſhould have the command, conjointly with him. Things were in this ſtate when Alvarado was obliged to return to his fleet at the port of Natividad; and being there, and juſt ready to ſail, he received a letter from Chriſtoval de Onate, who was left in command at Xaliſco in the abſence of Franciſco Coronado, requeſting his immediate aſſiſtance to ſave him and the ſettlement from the deſtruction with which they were threatened, by the force of the neighbouring Indians of Cochitlan. Alvarado ſet off with his troops to their relief, and found them in a moſt deſperate ſituation indeed. The inſurgents rather decreaſed the violence of their attacks upon the appearance of Alvarado's force, but ſtill hoſtilities were carried on, and one day that Alvarado was purſuing ſome of the enemy among the rocks and mountains where they had retreated, a ſoldier who was on horſeback at a conſiderable height above him on the ſide of a mountain, and whoſe horſe had loſt his footing, came, horſe and all, rolling down the precipice, and ſtriking Alvarado, brought him down with them. By this accident he was ſo much bruiſed, that, in conſequence thereof, and of being removed too ſuddenly to the

town

town of the Pacification, he was ſeized with fainting fits, and in the courſe of a few days gave up the ghoſt. God pardon his ſins! Some ſay that he made a will previous to his death, but it never appeared. He was buried with as much ceremony as could be beſtowed upon his funeral, and his remains were, as I have heard, afterwards removed to the town of Piripito by Juan de Alvarado, his relation.

As ſoon as the news of his death was known to his fleet and army, numbers diſcharged themſelves, and returned to their homes with what they had received. In Mexico he was greatly regretted. The Vice-roy ſent off immediately the licentiate Maldonado, to take proper ſteps to prevent any confuſion likely to enſue, and ſhortly after, following in perſon, collected what remained of the ſoldiers, and, marching againſt the inſurgents in the rocks, after a tedious expedition ſucceeded in reducing them. The loſs of Alvarado was ſeverely felt in his family. As ſoon as the fatal intelligence arrived in Guatimala, the biſhop D. Franciſco Marroguin, of excellent memory, and all the clergy, aſſiſted in rendering him the funeral honours. His major domo alſo, to ſhew his ſorrow, cauſed the walls of his houſe to be painted black, which colour they remained ever after. Many cavaliers waited upon his lady, Donna Beatrix de la Cueva, and her family, in order to conſole them, for their diſtreſs was very great. They told her that ſhe ſhould give thanks to God, ſince it was his will to take her huſband;

band; to which ſhe as a good chriſtian aſſented, but obſerved, that ſhe wiſhed to be free from this melancholy world, and all its misfortunes.

Theſe circumſtances I mention, becauſe the hiſtorian Gomara attributes the unfortunate event which ſhortly afterwards befel her to her having ſpoken blaſphemouſly, in ſaying that God could do her no more injury than ſhe had already ſuffered. She met with her death in the following manner: A deluge of water and mud broke from the volcano which is at the diſtance of about half a league from Guatimala, and, bringing with it great quantities of large ſtones and trees, overwhelmed the houſe of Donna Beatrix, who was at the time praying with her women. As to the words which Gomara aſcribes to her, ſhe never uttered them, nor was her death a judgment of God in any reſpect. But I muſt obſerve the particularities of the fate of this family. Although Alvarado and his four brothers had ſerved his Majeſty ſo zealouſly, not any part of his property deſcended to his children. D. Pedro de Alvarado died as I have related, by an uncommon accident in Cochitlan; his brother George died in the city of Madrid, in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty, being then ſoliciting his Majeſty for ſome reward; Gomez de Alvarado died in Peru, Gonzalo de Alvarado in Mexico or Guaxaca, I forget which, and Juan on his voyage to the iſland of Cuba. His eldeſt ſon going with his relation Juan de Alvarado the younger

younger to wait on his Majeſty, and ſolicit a recompence for his father's ſervices, the ſhip wherein they went was loſt, and neither they nor it were ever heard of after they ſet ſail. Don Diego, the younger ſon, ſeeing his fortunes deſperate, returned to Peru, where he died in battle, and the lady of Pedro de Alvarado, with the female part of his family, one only excepted, were drowned by a torrent from a volcano. Now, curious readers, reflect on what I have related of the fate of this family; and may our Lord Jeſus Chriſt take them into his holy glory! Amen. The only ſurvivor, Donna Leonora, one of his daughters who was ſaved from the torrent, has cauſed to be built two ſepulchres in the great church of this city of Guatimala, to receive the bones of her relations.

In about a year after the death of D. Pedro de Alvarado, the Viceroy collected the beſt of the thirteen ſhips which compoſed his fleet, and ſent them, under the command of an officer named Villalobos, to make diſcoveries to the weſtward; but what the reſult was, I never heard. As to the expenſes incurred by Alvarado, he never recovered any part of them, nor his family after him.

The Marquis del Valle being in Spain at the time of the expedition againſt Algiers, and attending his Majeſty in it, with his eldeſt ſon, and alſo Don Martin, his ſon by Donna Marina, the fleet was diſperſed in

in a ſtorm. The veſſel on board which the Marquis was being ſtranded, he, his ſons, and the other cavaliers, reached the ſhore with very great difficulty. His ſervants have related, that before he quitted the veſſel, he tied round his arm in a handkerchief a quantity of jewels of ineſtimable value, which he wore, according to the cuſtom of great lords, as we ſay "para no meneſter," or becauſe they are not wanting; but in the confuſion of quitting the veſſel, by ſome accident they were all loſt. On account of this diſaſter to the fleet, the council of war were of opinion to raiſe the ſiege immediately. To this council the Marquis was not ſummoned, but he is ſaid to have declared, that had he been preſent at it he would have given his vote for the continuation of the ſiege, and that if it had been his fortune to have had ſuch brave ſoldiers as thoſe who firſt accompanied him to Mexico, he would entertain no doubt of ſucceſs.

The Marquis was now grown old, and he was worn down by fatigues; he was therefore very anxious to return to New Spain; but a treaty of marriage was on foot between his eldeſt daughter, Donna Maria Cortes, for whom he had ſent to Mexico, and Don Alvaro Pinez Oſorio, ſon and heir to the Marquis of Aſtorga. The lady was to have a fortune of a hundred thouſand ducats, and the Marquis had gone as far as Seville to meet her on her arrival in Spain; but the match was broken off, as it is ſaid, by

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the fault of Don Alvaro. The Marquis was greatly displeased, and, being in a bad state of health before, he declined so rapidly that he found it necessary to retire from Seville to Castileja de la Cuesta, to attend to his soul, and make his last testament. Having arranged all his affairs for this and the next world, it was the Lord's will to take him from this troublesome state, on the second day of December, one thousand five hundred and forty-seven. He was buried with great pomp in the chapel of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, but his remains were afterwards, according to his will, brought to New Spain, and interred in Cuyoacan or Tezcuco, I am uncertain which. In regard to his age, I will give the best account that I am able. In the year one thousand five hundred and nineteen, when we went with him from Cuba to New Spain, he used to tell us that he was thirty-four years of age; from one thousand five hundred and nineteen, to one thousand five hundred and forty-seven, is a period of twenty-eight years, which makes him at the time of his death exactly sixty-two years old.

The legitimate children of the Marquis del Valle were, Don Martin the present Marquis, Donna Maria before mentioned, who married the Count de Luna de Leon. Donna Juana, who married Don Hernando Enriquez, heir to the Marquis of Tariffa, and Donna Catalina de Arrellano, who died in Seville. These ladies came with the Marchioness from Mexico;

co; her brother Fra. Anthonio de Zuniga being ſent for them. One daughter, named Donna Leonora, was married in Mexico, to a rich Biſcayan named Juanes de Toloſa, which alliance gave great offence to the young Marquis. He alſo left two natural ſons, one by Donna Marina, named Don Martin, who was commander of the order of St. Jago. The other, Don Luis, who was a commander of the ſame order, was the ſon of a lady, by name De Hermoſilla. He had alſo three natural daughters: one, by an Indian woman of Cuba, was named Donna ——Pizarro; the others were by a Mexican woman. Theſe ladies were all left great fortunes. The Marquis alſo, having due time, took care of his ſoul, by diſcharging his ſins, endowing an hoſpital in Mexico, and a monaſtery of nuns in his own town of Cuyoacan.

The motto and arms which were granted to him were well adapted to a valiant warrior. The former being in Latin I will ſay nothing about, becauſe I do not underſtand that language. His arms were the heads of ſeven kings in a chain, repreſenting Montezuma, Cacamatzin, Guatimotzin, Tulapa, Coadlavaca, and the princes of Tacuba and Cuyoacan.

I will now proceed to deſcribe the perſon and diſpoſition of the Marquis. He was of a good ſtature and ſtrong built, of a rather pale complexion, and ſerious countenance. His features were, if faulty, rather too ſmall; his eyes mild and grave. His beard

was

was black, thin, and ſcanty; his hair in the ſame manner. His breaſt and ſhoulders were broad, and his body very thin. He was very well limbed, and his legs rather bowed; an excellent horſeman, and dexterous in the uſe of arms. He alſo poſſeſſed the heart and mind, which is the principal part of the buſineſs. I have heard that when he was a lad in Hiſpaniola, he was very wild about women, and that he had ſeveral duels with able ſwordſmen, in which he always came off with victory. He had the ſcar of a ſword-wound near his under lip, which appeared through his beard if cloſely examined, and which he received in ſome of thoſe affairs. In his appearance, manners, tranſactions, converſation, table, and dreſs, every thing bore the appearance of a great lord. His clothes were according to the faſhion of the time; he was not fond of ſilks, damaſks, or velvets, but every thing plain, and very handſome; nor did he wear large chains of gold, but a ſmall one of prime workmanſhip, bearing the image of our Lady the Bleſſed Virgin with her precious Son in her arms, and a Latin motto; and on the reverſe, St. John the Baptiſt, with another motto. He wore on his finger a ring with a very fine diamond, and in his cap, which according to the faſhion of that day was of velvet, he bore a medal, the head and motto of which I do not recollect; but latterly he wore a plain cloth cap, without any ornament.

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His table was always magnificently attended and ſerved, with four major domos or principal officers, a number of pages, and a great quantity of plate, both gold and ſilver. He dined heartily at mid-day, and drank a glaſs of wine mixed with water, of about half a pint. He was not nice in his food, nor expenſive, except on particular occaſions where he ſaw the propriety of it. He was very affable with all his captains and ſoldiers, eſpecially thoſe who accompanied him in his firſt expedition from Cuba. He was a Latiniſt, and, as I have been told, a bachelor in laws. He was alſo ſomething of a poet, and a very good rhetorician; very devout to our Holy Virgin, and his advocates St. Peter, St. Jago, and St. John the Baptiſt in particular; and charitable to the poor. When he ſwore, he uſed to ſay, "By my conſcience!" and when he was angry with any of us, his friends, he would ſay, "Oh! may you repent it." When he was very angry, the veins in his throat and forehead uſed to ſwell; and when in great wrath, he would not utter a ſyllable to any one. He was very patient under inſults or injuries; for ſome of the ſoldiers were at times very rude and abuſive with him; but he never reſented their conduct, although he had often great reaſon to do ſo. In ſuch caſes he uſed only to ſay, "Be ſilent," or, "Go away, in God's name, and "take care not to repeat this conduct, or I will have "you puniſhed." He was very determined and headſtrong in all buſineſs of war, not attending to any remonſtrances on account of danger; an inſtance

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of which he ſhewed in the attack of thoſe fortreſſes called the rocks of the Marquis; which he forced us to ſcale, contrary to our opinions, and where neither courage, counſel, or wiſdom, could give any rational hope of ſucceſs. Another inſtance was given by him of his obſtinacy in regard to the expedition againſt De Oli. I repeatedly adviſed him to go by the mountains; but he perſiſted in adhering to the coaſt, whereas if he had gone in the direction that I propoſed he would have found towns the whole way, of which the following route is a proof; Guacacualco, the high road to Chiapa, from that to Guatimala, and from thence to Naco. Where we had to erect a fortreſs, Cortes was the hardeſt labourer in the trenches; when we were going into battle, he was as forward as any.

Cortes was very fond of play, both at cards and dice, and while playing he was very affable and good humoured. He uſed frequently, at ſuch times, thoſe cant expreſſions which perſons who game are accuſtomed to do. In military ſervice he practiſed the moſt ſtrict attention to diſcipline, conſtantly going the rounds in perſon during the night, viſiting the quarters of the ſoldiers, and ſeverely reprehending thoſe whom he found without their armour and appointments, and not ready to turn out; repeating to them the proverb, that "It is a bad ſheep which cannot carry its own wool." On our expedition to Higueras I perceived that he had acquired a habit which

which I had never before obſerved in him, and it was this; after eating, if he did not get his ſieſta, or ſleep, his ſtomach was affected, and he fell ſick. For this reaſon, when on the journey, let the rain be ever ſo heavy, or the ſun ever ſo hot, he always repoſed for a ſhort time after his repaſt, a carpet or cloak being ſpread under a tree, on which he lay down, and having ſlept a ſhort time he mounted his horſe and proceeded on his journey. When we were engaged in the wars during the conqueſt of New Spain, he was very thin and ſlender, but after his return from Higueras he grew fat, and acquired a belly. He at this time trimmed his beard, which had not begun to grow white, in the ſhort faſhion. In his early life he was very liberal, but grew cloſe latterly; ſome of his ſervants complaining that he did not pay them as he ought: and I have alſo to obſerve that in his latter undertakings he never ſucceeded. Perhaps ſuch was the will of Heaven, his reward being reſerved for another place; for he was a good cavalier, and very devout to the Holy Virgin, and alſo to St. Paul and other holy Saints. God pardon him his ſins, and me mine; and give me a good end, which is better than all conqueſts and victories over Indians.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER X.

Enumeration and Account of the valiant Companions who paſſed over to the Conqueſt of New Spain with the moſt adventurous and magnanimous Don Hernando Cortes, Marquis of the Valley. Advantages reſulting from the Conqueſt. Tranſactions at Court. Concluding Obſervations of the Author.

IN the liſt of the conquerors of Mexico the firſt is the Marquis Don H. Cortes; with him came the following officers and ſoldiers: Don P. de Alvarado, commander of St. Jago, adelantado and governor of Guatimala, Honduras, and Chiapa; he was about thirty-four years of age when he came to this country, of a handſome perſon, very cheerful countenance, and mild look; for which reaſon he was called by the Mexicans, "Tonatio," which ſignifies the ſun: he was very active, and a good horſeman; of a generous diſpoſition, and courteous manners, very ſplendid in his dreſs, wearing a gold chain with a medal round his neck, and a diamond ring on his finger.

F. de Montejo was of the middle ſtature, of a cheerful countenance, and gay diſpoſition: at the time of his arrival here he was about thirty-five years of age; he was fitter for buſineſs than war, and of a liberal turn, expending more than he received. He arrived to the dignity of adelantado and governor of Yucatan, and died in Caſtille.

Captain

Captain G. de Sandoval was at the time of his arrival here about twenty-two years of age. He was joint governor of New Spain for about eleven months; in this officer courage and judgment were combined. He was robuſt in body, his legs rather bowed, and his countenance maſculine; his hair and beard were curled, and of a light brown; his voice was rough, and ſomewhat terrible, and he ſtammered a little; he was a plain man, and one who did not know much of letters, not avaricious of gold, but attentive to his buſineſs, like a good officer; ſeeing that his ſoldiers did their duty well, and taking good care of them. He was not fond of rich dreſſes, but went plain and like a ſoldier. He had the beſt horſe that ever was ſeen; he was a cheſnut, with a ſtar in his forehead, and his near foot white; his name was Motilla; he became a proverb, ſo that when any horſe was extraordinarily good, we uſed to ſay he was as good as Motilla. Sandoval was an officer fit for any ſtation; he was a native of Medellin, and an hidalgo; his father was an alcalde of a caſtle.

Don C. de Oli was a Hector in battle, but his judgment was not equal to his valour, and he required to be kept under command. The captains De Alvarado, De Sandoval, and De Oli, were in high eſtimation with his Majeſty, who was pleaſed to ſay that he had three in New Spain who might be compared with the greateſt the world had produced. Cortes alſo uſed to talk highly of his officers and ſoldiers,

diers, but what Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo thinks upon the ſubject is this; that if what Cortes afterwards ſaid in their favour, he had written at firſt to his Majeſty, he would have done right; but at that time he made no mention of our valiant actions, nor even our names; but only ſaid, "this I did; this I ordered to be done;" whereas I think the leaſt he ſhould have done was to make mention of us. I will now return to my enumeration of our officers and ſoldiers.

J. V. de Leon, native of Old Caſtille, was about twenty-ſeven years of age, well proportioned, and robuſt; his beard was red and curled, his voice rough and fierce, and he ſtammered a little. He was a cavalier of good manners, and generous, ſharing what he had with his companions; he killed a perſon of conſequence in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, for which he was obliged to conceal himſelf, and the officers of juſtice never were able to apprehend him, he made ſuch reſiſtance. He was moſt valiant both on horſeback and on foot. He died at the bridge.

D. de Ordas, from the neighbourhood of Campos, was about forty years of age; he was captain of the ſoldiers armed with ſword and buckler, not being a horſeman; he was very valiant, and wiſe; ſtrong, and of good ſtature; of a maſculine countenance, and black, thin beard. In ſpeaking, there were certain words which he could not pronounce; he was generous,

nerous, and of good manners. He was commander of St. Jago, and governor of Maranion, where he died.

Captain L. Marin was valiant, and ſtout built; bow legged, with a red beard, and a full and cheerful countenance, ſlightly marked with the ſmall pox. He was about thirty years of age, and a native of St. Lucar, liſping a little, like the Sevillians. He was a good horſeman, and of mild manners; he died in Mechoacan.

Captain P. de Ircio was of middle ſtature, cheerful countenance, and duck legged; a great boaſter of his exploits, but by what we could perceive in him good for very little. He was always repeating certain ſtories of the Count de Urena, and Don Pedro Giron. We uſed to call him Agrages without deeds. He was for a time captain under Sandoval during the ſiege, and died in Mexico.

A. de Avila was of a good perſon and countenance, clear and ſenſible in his converſation, very valiant, and about thirty-three years of age. He was free with his companions, but proud, fond of commanding, and impatient of control, with a conſiderable ſhare of envy and turbulence, inſomuch that Cortes could not bear to have him near him; he therefore took care that he ſhould be employed in ſuch affairs as would draw him to a diſtance. He was uncle to the

the cavaliers the ſons of Benavides, who were beheaded in Mexico. He died in that city or in Yucatan.

A. de Monjarez was of middling ſtature, and a good countenance; he acted as captain during the ſiege, but was always an invalid. He was aged about thirty years, and died a natural death.

C. de Olea was a native of Medina Del Campo, and a moſt valiant ſoldier. He was about twenty-ſix years of age, of the middle ſtature, with a maſculine but pleaſing countenance; his hair and beard a little curled, and a clear voice. This ſoldier's bravery was ſuch that we all held him in the higheſt honour; he ſaved the life of Cortes at Suchimillico, when the enemy had ſeized and were carrying him off to ſacrifice; and a ſecond time upon the cauſeway of Mexico when he was in a ſtill more deſperate ſituation, being wounded and in the hands of a number of the Indians, the brave De Olea, though mortally wounded, with his ſword killed and beat off every one of theſe who were upon Cortes, thus ſaving his general's life, and loſing his own at the ſame time. When the perſon of this valiant ſoldier recurs to my mind, and the manner he uſed to fight at our ſides, the tears flow from my eyes, for he was my townſman, and we were related to the ſame families.

G. Dominguez, and Lares, were ſoldiers of high renown, and might be put in compariſon with Olea;

the firſt died by the fall of his horſe, the ſecond at the battle of Obtumba.

A. de Tapia was aged about twenty-four years, of a pale complexion and grave countenance. He was a valiant captain, and died in Mexico, a natural death.

J. de Eſcalante was a captain; he died at Villa Rica. F. de Lugo, a brave officer, acted as captain occaſionally; he was the natural ſon of a wealthy gentleman at Medina del Campo; he died a natural death. Gregorio de Monjaraz, a good ſoldier, loſt his hearing during the ſiege, and died a natural death. Four brothers of Don P. de Alvarado. J. Xaramillo was an officer of merit; he died a natural death. Chriſtoval Flores, a worthy ſoldier. Chriſtoval de Gamboa, equerry to Cortes. One Calcedo, a wealthy man. Franciſco de Bonal, a good ſoldier. Maldonado, ſurnamed "the broad," a good ſoldier. Franciſco Alvarez Chico, a man of buſineſs. Franciſco de Torrazas, major domo to Cortes, a perſon of merit. Chriſtoval del Corral, our enſign; an officer of merit. Anthonio de Villaroel, ſome time enſign. Alonzo de Grado; one fitter for buſineſs than war; by his importunities he induced Cortes to give him the daughter of Montezuma in marriage. Franciſco Flores, a very noble perſon. De Solis. There were four of this name; one was ſurnamed, "caſquete," or "rattle-ſkull;" another called himſelf "De la Huerta;" but we called him "ſilk coat," becauſe he prided himſelf

lif on his dreſs. Another was named "De Atras la Puerta," becauſe he always ſat behind the door of his houſe, obſerving the paſſengers in the ſtreet. Bernardino Vaſquez de Tapia; a perſon of wealth and conſequence. Juan Lopez de Ximena, alcalde major of Vera Cruz. Juan de Cuellar, a good horſeman, married the handſome daughter of the lord of Tezcuco, named Donna Anna. Another Cuellar, related to F. Verdugo. Santos Hernandez, whom we uſed to call "the good old ranger." Pedro Moreno Medrano, alcalde in Vera Cruz, a good ſoldier, and an upright judge. Roman Lopez, a perſon of eminence. Juan de Limpias Caravajal, grew deaf during the ſiege, where he was captain of a veſſel. Melchor de Galvez. Villandrando, ſaid to have been related to the Count of Ribadeo. Oſſorio, a good ſoldier. Rodrigo de Caſtaneda, a good ſoldier. Juan de Naxara, a good ſoldier. Ojeda, who loſt an eye during the ſiege. Alonzo Hernandez Puertocarrero, couſin to the Count of Medellin. Hernando Burgueno, a good ſoldier. Tirado de la Puebla, a man of buſineſs. Hernandes de Alanis, a very brave ſoldier. Navarrete. Juan Flamenco. Franciſco del Barco, promoted to be a captain. Juan Perez, who killed his wife, the daughter of La Baguera. Najara, "the hump backed," a moſt valiant ſoldier. Madrid, "the hump backed," a very valiant ſoldier. Juan de Inhieſta. De Alamilla, a good croſs-bow-man. Moron, a fine muſician. De Varela, a good ſoldier. De Villafuerte, a perſon of conſequence, married to a relation

relation of the firſt wife of Cortes. Gutierres Pacheco, a perſon of diſtinction. Hernando de Lerma, or de Leona, a captain. Suarez the elder, who killed his wife with a blow of a hand-mill. Laſios, who had a ſuit about his diſtrict. Garci Caro. One Ximenes. Amaya. Two Carmenos, brothers. One Vargas. Polanco. Juan de Aragon. St. Eſtevan. Bernardino de Coria. Rodorigo Rangel. Almodova, his ſon, and nephew. A reverend father of the order of Mercy, named Fra. Bartholome de Olmedo; a great theologian, a fine ſinger, and a virtuous man. Two nephews of Alonzo Hernandez de Palo. Chriſtoval Diaz, a good croſs-bow-man. Juan Siciliano. Diego de Coria. Juan Sedeno. Saragoſſa, father to the ſcrivener in Mexico. Diego Martin de Agamante, a good ſoldier. Diego Hernandez, loſt his ſight; he was an aſſiſtant ſhipwright. Alvaro Lopez. One Yanez, who went to Higueras; during his abſence his wife took another huſband, with whom he left her. Martin de Alpedrino, Juan Alvarez Rubazo, Gonzalez Sanchez, brave men, all Portugueſe. One Avila. One Eſpinoſa, ſurnamed "De la Buena Bene-" dicion," from his often uſing the word. Peron de Toledo. One San Juan. Aparicio Martin. Izguierdo, a good ſoldier. Morrales, an old man, lame of a leg, alcalde in ordinary at Villa Rica, and a ſtrict doer of juſtice. Arevalo, Juan Leon, Madrigal, inhabitants of Villa Rica; never were on ſervice. Navarro. Manzanilla, an Indian of the iſlands. Benito Vejel, a drummer who had ſerved in Italy. Alonzo Romero.

Romero. Pedro Lopez, a good ſoldier. Juan Garcia, Hernan Martin, and another; ſmiths. Alvaro Gallego. Pedro de Tapia. Lorenzo Ginoves. Ochoa, a rich and eminent perſon. Martin Vaſquez, a man of eminence. Sebaſtian Rodriguez, a croſs-bow-man and trumpeter. Penaloſa. Juan Perez Artiaga, ſurnamed "Malintzin;" a rich man. Pedro Gonzalez Sabiote, a good ſoldier. Aguilar, whom we found at the point of Cotoche; a good ſoldier. Pedro Valenciano. One Tariffa. Another of that name, called by us "the meritorious," becauſe he was always bragging of what he had done, and that he had not been properly rewarded; a prating fellow. Pedro Sanchez Farfan, a brave ſoldier; he acted as captain. Eſcobar the bachelor, apothecary, ſurgeon, and phyſician; he went mad. Juan de Caceres the rich. Gonzalo Hurones. Ramirez the elder. Aſtorga. Toſtado. Pedro Valencia. Fra. Juan de las Varillas, of the order of Mercy; a good theologian, and a virtuous man. Thoſe enumerated above all died naturally. Franciſco de Saucedo, called "the gallant." Franciſco de Morla, a very brave ſoldier. De Lares, a good ſoldier and horſeman. Another of that name. De Solis, an old man. Benitez, a brave man. Juan Ruano, a good ſoldier. Two nephews of Gonzales de Najara. Gonzalo Dominguez, very brave and an excellent horſeman. One De Mora, a good ſoldier. Juan Alvarez Chico. A good ſoldier who had loſt one hand in Caſtille by the courſe of juſtice. One Tobillo, lame, as he ſaid by a wound received

received while ſerving under the great captain, Gonzalo Lopez de Ximena. One Pilar, a good linguiſt. Alonzo Luis, a good ſoldier: being very tall he was called "the infant." Alonzo de Monroy, a good ſoldier, ſon of a commander of St. Stephen; he went under the name of Salamanca. Juan Rico de Alanis, a good ſoldier. Martin de Vendabal. Pedro Gallego. Three ſoldiers of the name of Truxillo, brave men. De Valladolid. De Angulo. Franciſco Gutierrez. Santa Clara. One Ximenes. Two brothers of the name of Florin. One Vargas. One De Cieza, remarkable for pitching a bar. Bartholome Pardo. Arbolanche, a very brave ſoldier. A nephew of one Almodovar. Two brothers by name Martinez; brave men. Sancho de Avila, who is ſaid to have brought ſix thouſand crowns in gold to Caſtille from St. Domingo, having had the luck to fall on ſome very rich mines there; he loſt the whole at play, and then joined us. Alonzo Hernandez de Palo, Alonzo de la Meſta, and Rabanal Montanez, good ſoldiers. Retamales. Gines Nortes, a brave ſoldier. Luis Alonzo, an excellent ſwordſman. Alonzo Catalan, a good ſoldier. Canillas, a drummer, and a good ſoldier, having ſerved in Italy. Hernandez, ſecretary to Cortes. Juan Diaz, belonged to the general's houſehold. Balnor. Cardenas, who ſaid he was ſon to a commander. Arguello, a good ſoldier. Vaſquez, a brave ſoldier. Arroyuelo. Pizarro, a relation of Cortes, acted as captain; his name was not then remarkable, nor had Peru been heard of. Magellanes,

gellanes, a brave ſoldier, a Portugueſe, as was another, a goldſmith. One Avila. Two of the name of Eſpinoſa. One of the name of San Juan, called "the lofty," from his preſumptuouſneſs. Caceres, a good ſoldier. Eſcanola the younger. Alonzo de Talavera, a good ſoldier. An Indian of the iſlands, named Manzanilla. Galleguillo, a very little man. A ſmith, whoſe name I forget. Paredes. Gonzalo Mexia Rapapello, who ſaid he was deſcended from the corſair of that name in the reign of King John. Lucas Ginoves. Cervantes, a buffoon. Plazuela. Alonzo Perez Maite, a brave ſoldier, married to a handſome Indian of the iſlands. Alonzo de Eſcobar, a perſon of conſideration, formerly page to Velaſquez. Ponce. Mendez. An old croſs-bow-man, a great card player, whoſe name I forget. The page Orteguilla and his father. Gaona. Luis Farfan. Morillas. One of the Toſtados. Porras, a fine ſinger, with a very fair complexion. Ortiz; he played on the fiddle and taught dancing. Serrano, a good ſoldier. Quintero. Andres de Mola. Alberza, a good ſoldier. Moſt of theſe loſt their lives at the bridge, were ſacrificed, or fell in battle.

Simon de Cuenca was killed at Xicalonga, with ten more ſoldiers. Franciſco de Medina died in the hands of the Indians with fifteen more. One De la Serna, who diſcovered ſilver mines; I do not know what is become of him. Martin Lopez, the ſhip carpenter who rendered ſuch eminent ſervices; he is now living in

in Mexico. One Granado, now living in Mexico. Tilla Lobos returned rich to Caſtille. Juan del Rio returned to Caſtille. Juan Gomez returned rich to Caſtille. Herman Lopez de Avila, a truſtee of the effects of the dead, returned very rich to Caſtille. Pedro Eſcudiro, Juan Cermeno, and his brother, all good ſoldiers. Gonzalo de Umbria, a pilot. Franciſco de Orozco, had been a ſoldier in Italy, and acted as captain during the ſiege of Mexico; I know nothing more of him. Meſa had been a canonier in Italy; was drowned in croſſing a river, after the conqueſt. Luis Velaſquez, and Martin Valenciano, died in the expedition to Higueras. Alonzo de Barrientos. Juan del Puerto, a good ſoldier, died of diſeaſe. Pedro de Guzman, a brave ſoldier; it is ſaid that on his journey to Peru, he and his whole family, ſervants and horſes, were frozen to death. Cardenas; this was he who talked of the two kings; he was very troubleſome to Cortes. The Emperor made him a grant of lands worth a thouſand crowns a year, with which he returned to Mexico, but ſhortly after died. Los Villanuevas, two brothers, Portugueſe; I do not know what became of them. Villocinda, a brave ſoldier, put on the Franciſcan habit. Alonzo de Herrera, a good ſoldier; he fought with captain Figuero, and to avoid the vengeance of the treaſurer, fled to the Indians of Maronon, by whom he was killed. Figuero was drowned going to Caſtille. Maldonado de Medellin; I do not know what became of him.

Lencero,

Lencero, a good ſoldier, had an inn on the road to Vera Cruz; turned friar. Sindos de Portillo, poſſeſſed large eſtates, which he ſold, giving the money to the poor, and, taking orders, led a holy life. Quintero, a good ſoldier, attained great wealth, which he renounced for God's ſake, and, taking the Franciſcan habit, led a holy life. Alonzo de Aguilar owned the inn between Vera Cruz and La Puebla; a rich man; he ſold all his property for the ſervice of God, and, putting on the Dominican habit, led a holy life. Burguillos, a rich man, renounced his property, and entered the order of St. Francis, which he afterwards quitted. Eſcalante, a good ſoldier, of a gay diſpoſition; he put on the Franciſcan habit, but afterwards quitted the monaſtery, and entered again into the military ſervice; but, in the courſe of a month, reſumed his friar's habit, and led a holy life. Gaſpar Diaz, a wealthy man, renounced all for God's ſake, and retired to the pine woods of Guaxocingo, where, in the moſt retired part, he made a hermitage for himſelf; in this courſe of life he reduced his body to a very weak ſtate, by faſting and penance, and the fame of his auſterities reaching the biſhop Juan de Zumarraga, he entreated him not to carry them to ſuch an extreme. Several other perſons alſo joined him, being induced by his example to lead holy lives; at the end of about four years it was God's will to take them all from this world to his heavenly glory. Lerma, a very valiant ſoldier; it was he who rendered ſuch eſſential ſervice to Cortes, in once ſaving his

life; Lerma was afterwards obliged to fly, and ſeek refuge among the Indians from this very Cortes whom he had preſerved, and who was exaſperated againſt him, for reaſons which, from regard to his honour, I will not mention; we never knew what became of him, but our ſuſpicions were very bad. Pinedo, a good ſoldier, had been educated in the houſe of Velaſquez; on the arrival of Narvaez, quitting Mexico to join him, he was way-laid and killed on the road by Indians; Cortes was ſuſpected of having a hand in his death.

One Lopez, returned to Hiſpaniola. Alaminos and his ſon, Camacho de Triano, Alvarez de Huelva, Sopuerto del Condado, Cardenas, Umbria, Galdin, and ſeveral others, all pilots; Sopuerto, only, remained in Mexico; the reſt being in dread of Cortes, becauſe they had offered their ſervices to Garay. Enreque, drowned himſelf, from deſpair and fatigue on a march. Zemudio, a very brave ſoldier, returned to Old Spain, on account of having wounded ſeveral perſons in frays; he was there given the command of a company; he died in Locaſtil, with many other Spaniſh cavaliers. Tariffa, the third of that name, called by us "of the white hands," becauſe he was not fit either for war or labour, or any thing elſe except to prate about what had happened to him in Seville; he and his horſe were drowned on the march to Higueras. Eſcobar, a brave man, but very turbulent; he was hanged for ſedition, and for violating a married

married woman. St. Jago, returned rich to Caſtille. Alonzo de Eſcobar, a perſon of eſtimation, formerly page to Velaſquez. Saldanha and two more, whoſe names I forget, were killed in Tabaſco. De Rojas, went to Peru. Guillen de la Loa, Andrez Nunez, Maiſſe Pedro el de la Harpa, and three more; the firſt died by a cannon ſhot, the others by the enemy, or courſe of nature. Alonzo Rodriguez, left good mines in Cuba; was killed at the rocks, together with Gaſpar Sanchez, a brave man, nephew to the treaſurer of Cuba, and ſix of the ſoldiers of Narvaez. Pedro de Palma, firſt huſband of Elvira Lopez "the tall," was hanged, together with a ſoldier named Trebejo, and a prieſt, for ſedition, by Avila or Las Caſas, after the death of De Oli, under whom they ſerved; I was ſhewn the tree whereon they were executed, when returning from Higueras with captain Marin. Many ſea-faring men alſo came with us, and behaved very bravely in the wars, but not recollecting their names, I do not put them down; I ſhould run indeed into too great prolixity if I were to enumerate and deſcribe all the valiant ſoldiers who paſſed over with Cortes; but they were worthy to be recorded in letters of gold.

Laſt of all I put down myſelf, having been in this country antecedent to the coming of Cortes twice, and the third time with him, as I have related; and I give thanks and praiſe to our Lord God, and his Holy Mother the Virgin Mary, who preſerved me from

from being ſacrificed like the moſt of my companions, that I might now relate and make manifeſt our heroic actions, and enumerate by name our valiant captains and ſoldiers, who conquered this new world, thereby to prevent all the honour and merit from being unjuſtly aſcribed to one perſon.

Of thoſe who came with Narvaez, although ſeveral were very valiant men, I will ſay nothing, becauſe my intention in writing this hiſtory was but to record the heroic actions of the ſoldiers of Cortes. I will therefore only deſcribe Narvaez himſelf.

Narvaez was about forty-two years of age, of tall ſtature and large limbs, a full face, and red beard, and agreeable preſence; very ſonorous and lofty in his ſpeech, as if the ſound came out of a vault; a good horſeman, and ſaid to be valiant. He was a native of Valladolid, or Tudela de Duero, and married to a lady named Maria de Valenzuela. He had a conſiderable property in the iſland of Cuba, where he was a captain. One of his eyes was beaten out in the attack which we made upon him. This gentleman was ſaid to be very cloſe in his diſpoſition. He went to Caſtille to lay his complaints againſt us before his Majeſty, and obtained a royal grant of a government in Florida, where he was loſt, and all his property. Thoſe who read the particulars of ſo many gallant officers and ſoldiers, ſuch as I have now deſcribed them, frequently aſk me how it happened

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that I ſhould remember them perfectly, after the lapſe of ſo many years. To which I reply, that it is natural enough that I ſhould recollect the names of five hundred and fifty companions who were always together, in expeditions, in watches, in battles, and in ſkirmiſhes, and converſing with each other how ſuch a one had been killed at ſuch a place, and how others were carried off to be ſacrificed. For this was the manner in which we communicated with each other, eſpecially after we had come out of a bloody and doubtful battle. And there have been generals who knew the ſoldiers of their armies perſonally, even when there were as many as thirty thouſand men; ſo ſays hiſtory of Mithridates king of Pontus, and another king of the Epirots, and of Alexander, and Hannibal of Carthage, and in our times of the valiant Gonzalo de Cordova, called the great captain, and many others. I ſay farther, that I have their figures ſo perfectly pourtrayed in my imagination, that I could draw them as it were to the life, each of them in the manner he entered into battle, like the great Apelles, and thoſe famous modern painters Michael Angelo, or the far celebrated Burgales, who is ſaid to be another Apelles. Glory be to God, and the Holy Virgin, who ſaved me from being ſacrificed to idols, to make theſe things known!

Having enumerated the ſoldiers who paſſed with Cortes, and related in what manner they died, I have now to obſerve, that we were for the moſt part hidal-

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gos, although ſome were not of ſuch clear lineage as others; for all cannot be alike in this world, either in rank or in virtues. But whatever may have been the dignity of our birth, we made ourſelves much more illuſtrious by our heroic actions in the conqueſt of this country, at our own proper coſt, and without any ſupport, ſave that of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is the true aid and ſuccour. If we look into the antient hiſtory of our own country, we ſhall then ſee that many cavaliers aroſe to dignity and honours, by valiant and faithful ſervices to their king; and I have obſerved that thoſe who thus obtained theſe titles and dignities, did not go into the field without receiving pay and ſalaries for their ſervice; and yet they were rewarded with houſes and caſtles, and lands and privileges, to them and their deſcendants in perpetuity. Alſo when his Majeſty Don Jayme won parts of his kingdom from the Moors, he made grants thereof to thoſe cavaliers who had aſſiſted him in the conqueſt, from which period they derive their honours and blazons. Thoſe alſo who ſerved under the great captain and the Prince of Orange were rewarded in like manner; and we, even without his Majeſty's knowledge, by our valour gained him this great country. I have here recalled this to recollection, that the world may conſider and ſee our manifold, and good, and notable and loyal ſervices, to God and the King, and all Chriſtendom, and let them be put in a balance and weighed; and let it be decided if we are not as worthy of rewards and remunerations,

tions, as thoſe cavaliers whom I have mentioned above. And as amongſt thoſe whom I have enumerated there were many valiant companions, I was held in no inconſiderable degree of eſtimation in my day as a ſoldier.

Now, curious reader, reflect on my life, and in how many battles and dangers I have been, ſince I firſt came to this country, and how I was twice in the hands of the enemy, who were carrying me off to ſacrifice, and God gave me force to eſcape out of their clutches; beſides the diſtreſſes by hunger, thirſt, and fatigue, which occur to all who undertake diſcoveries in unknown countries.

It is now proper that I ſhould relate the good effects of our exertions for the ſervice of God and his Majeſty, by our illuſtrious conqueſts, in which moſt of our companions loſt their lives, being ſacrificed to the idols Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatepuca. In the firſt place, we purged the land of its wickedneſs and evil cuſtoms, as for inſtance that of human ſacrifice. By the accounts taken by certain reverend Franciſcan fathers, the firſt who came here after Fra. Bartholome de Olmedo, it appears, that in the city of Mexico, and ſome adjacent towns in the lake, they ſacrificed every year above two thouſand five hundred human beings, young and old. Of courſe in the whole extent of the country the number thus put to death annually muſt have been much greater. Their various horrid

horrid practices of this nature exceed the powers of my pen to describe. Their cursed adoratories were so many, that I bestow on all of them a hearty malediction; it seems to me that they resembled what we have in Castille; for as we see there, in every city, holy churches, and hermitages, and chapels, so they had in this country their houses of idols, devils, and diabolical figures. Besides these, each native, male or female, had two altars, one by the place where he or she slept, the other at the door of the house, with chests containing idols large and small, stones, and stone knives, with books made of the bark of trees, in which were noted down their records of past times. They were much addicted to abominable practices, especially upon the coast, and in the sultry provinces, where boys wore female attire. They eat human flesh, as we do beef which we buy in the market, and in every town they had wooden cages, wherein they kept and fattened those men, women and children who were destined for that purpose, as was the case with all those whom they took in their wars. Incest was common amongst them; and they were drunkards in an extreme. In the province of Panuco in particular, they took the wine into their bodies in the manner a medicine is administered, by means of a hollow cane; an unheard-of beastliness! They had as many wives as they pleased, and all these, and other abominations, it was the will of our Lord Jesus Christ that we should be the instruments to sweep from the land, substituting in their places, a good policy, and the

the holy doctrine. It is true that after the lapſe of two years, when the country was ſubjugated and civilized, certain worthy fathers Franciſcans, of good example and doctrine, came here, and were followed in three or four years by fathers of the order of St. Dominic, who completed what others had begun; but if it is duly conſidered, it will appear that the meed and honour of deſtroying the evil cuſtoms of the land, in juſtice belongs to us the true conquerors, in preference to any other perſons, even though they ſhould be of the holy profeſſion.

Since the deſtruction of idolatry, by the will of God, and with his holy aid, and the good fortune and ſacred chriſtianity of the moſt chriſtian Emperor Don Carlos of glorious memory, and of our monarch and moſt fortunate ſovereign, the invincible King of Spain, our lord Don Philip, his dear and much beloved ſon, to whom may God grant years, and much increaſe of dominion, to be enjoyed by him during his fortunate and holy life, and to be tranſmitted from him to his poſterity, there have been baptized in this country all the natives, whoſe ſouls formerly were ſunk and loſt in the infernal pit. At preſent alſo, as there are here many reverend fathers of the different orders, they go through the country preaching and baptizing, whereby the holy Evangeliſts are firmly planted in the hearts of the natives, who confeſs every year, and thoſe ſufficiently advanced in the knowledge of the faith comulgate. The churches alſo and their

altars are richly adorned with all requiſites for holy worſhip, as croſſes and candleſticks, wax candles, chalices, cups, plates, and veſſels for incenſe, all of ſilver. The ornaments of the altars and croſſes are of velvet and damaſk, and other rich materials of various colours and workmanſhip, and embroidered with gold, ſilk, and pearls. The funerals alſo are diſtinguiſhed by their emblematic repreſentations of ſkulls and bones, and with their palls, ſome good, and others not ſo. Each town alſo has its bells, according to its ability. There are choirs alſo in the chapels, of good voices which ſing in concert, tenors, and trebles, and counter-altos. In ſome places are organs, and moſt have flutes, hautboys, ſackbuts, dulcimers, with trumpets baſs and treble, more in this one province of Guatimala than there are in my native country, which is Old Caſtille. It is a thing worthy to thank God on to ſee the devotion which the natives exhibit when at holy maſs, eſpecially if it is ſaid by fathers of the orders of St. Francis, or of Mercy, who are appointed to the cures of pariſhes. All the natives alſo, men, women and children, are taught the holy orations in their mother tongue, and when they paſs a croſs, crucifix, or altar, they bow, and, falling on their knees, ſay a Pater Noſter or Ave Maria. We, the conquerors, alſo taught them to keep wax candles lighted before the holy altars and croſſes, for before our arrival they did not know the uſe of wax in making candles. We alſo taught them to behave with reſpect to the reverend fathers, and when they came

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to their towns, to go out to meet and receive them with lighted wax candles, ringing the bells, and giving them plentifully to eat; and thus they do. They have alſo other holy and good cuſtoms, for on the day of our Lady, or of Corpus Chriſti, and other ſolemn feaſts, when we make proceſſions, moſt of the neighbours of this city of Guatimala go in proceſſion with croſſes and lighted candles, bearing the image of the ſaint who is their patron or patroneſs, as richly dreſſed as they can afford; and they go ſinging the litanies, and other holy orations, and ſound their flutes and trumpets.

The natives of theſe countries have alſo learned the trades uſed amongſt us in Caſtille, and have their ſhops, manufactories, and journeymen, and gain their livelihood thereby. The gold and ſilverſmiths work both in caſt metal, and by the hammer, and excel, as do the lapidaries and painters. The engravers execute firſt rate works, with their fine inſtruments of iron, eſpecially upon emeralds, whereon they repreſent all the acts of the holy paſſion of our Redeemer and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, in ſuch a manner that thoſe who had not ſeen them execute it, would not believe that ſuch works could be done by Indians; inſomuch that, according to my judgment, that famous painter of ancient times, the renowned Apelles, or the modern ones named Michael Angelo and Berruguete, and another a native of Burgos who is in great fame, being as they ſay a ſecond Apelles, could not with their

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ſubtle pencils equal the works which are done by three Mexican artiſts, named Andres de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz, and El Creſpillo. In addition to all theſe things, the ſons of the chiefs uſed to be grammarians, and were learning very well, until they were forbidden by the holy ſynod, under an order of the moſt reverend archbiſhop of Mexico; but many of them are now, notwithſtanding, literate. They are alſo weavers of ſilk, ſtuffs, and cloths, and manufacturers thereof, through all the various ſtages. They have alſo learned to be hatters and ſoap boilers. Two trades only could never be acquired by them; one is, that of making glaſs, the other that of the apothecary; but this is not owing to any defect of natural genius, for they are ſurgeons, and herbaliſts, jugglers, and makers of puppets, and of violins. Tillers of land they were before our arrival; and now they rear ſtock, and break bullocks, and plow, ſow wheat, manure, reap, ſell, and make bread and biſcuit. They have planted their lands and inheritances with the fruit trees of Old Spain, and ſell the fruit, cutting down the unwholeſome peach trees, and overſhading plantains, to make room for quince, apple and pear trees, which they hold in high eſtimation. We have taught them alſo laws and juſtice, and in conſequence, they every year elect their ordinary alcaldes, regidors, notaries, alguazils, fiſcals, and major domos. They have their halls of common council, with bailiffs, where they meet two days in the week, judging and ſentencing, and for ſome offences puniſhing and whipping;

whipping; but for murder and higher crimes they refer them to the governors, if there is no court of royal audience.

I have further been told, by perſons well informed upon the ſubject, that in Tlaſcala, Tezcuco, Cholula, Guaxocingo, Tepeaca, and other great cities, when the natives go to council, gilt maces are borne before the governors and alcaldes, as is done before the viceroys, and they do juſtice with as much zeal and activity as is uſed among us, priding themſelves thereon, and being very anxious to obtain a knowledge of our laws.

All the caciques have horſes, and are rich, and ride, handſomely capariſoned, and attended by their pages, through and about their reſpective towns. In ſome towns alſo they exerciſe with the lance on horſeback, run at the ring, and have bull fights, eſpecially on the days of Corpus Chriſti, St. John, St. James, our Lady in Auguſt, or the patron or patroneſs of the town. Many alſo of them will face the bulls, be they ever ſo fierce, and are excellent horſemen, eſpecially thoſe of a place named Chiapa de los Indios. Thoſe who are caciques now breed horſes, and uſe them and mules for ordinary purpoſes, conveying by their means wood, maize and lime for ſale. Many of the natives have likewiſe taken up the trade of arrieros or carriers,

siers, as is in practice in Castille. To conclude, they excel in all manufactures, not excepting that of tapestry.

Other advantages and profits are also derived from our illustrious services. By them our mother country has obtained gold, silver, precious stones, grain, wool, sarsaparilla, and hides; all which are annually transmitted thither to the benefit of his Majesty's revenue. I do not include the presents we at various times sent, and that which is exported by merchants and passengers; for since the time that the wise King Solomon built the holy temple of Jerusalem with the gold and silver which he caused to be brought from the islands of Tarsis, Ophir, and Saba, ancient or modern history do not record such treasures to have been derived from any country, as what have been sent from New Spain; and this I say, because, although it is notorious that from Peru many millions in gold and silver have been obtained, yet at the time of the conquest of this country Peru was unknown, nor was it gained until ten years after. We also from the first continued to send to his Majesty most rich presents, for which, and other reasons, I rate this country higher in estimation, because we well know that Peru has been involved in cruel civil wars, whereas we have remained, and will continue to do so, our breasts prostrate on the earth in submission and allegiance to our lord the King, and ready to expose and devote our lives and fortunes in his service.

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Let the curious reader conſider the number of cities of New Spain, which, from their being ſo many, I will not detail; our ten biſhopricks, not including the archbiſhoprick of the noble city of Mexico, the three courts of royal audience, together with the ſucceſſion of governors, archbiſhops, and biſhops; our holy cathedrals and monaſteries, Dominican, Franciſcan, Mercenarian and Auguſtin; our hoſpitals, with the extenſive remiſſions and pardons attached to them, and the Santa Caſa of our Lady of Guadeloupe, with the holy miracles there performed every day; and let us give thanks to God, and to his bleſſed mother our Lady, for giving us grace and ſupport to conquer theſe countries, where ſo much chriſtianity is now eſtabliſhed.

Let it be alſo remembered, that in Mexico there is a univerſity wherein are ſtudied and learned grammar, theology, rhetoric, logic, philoſophy, and other ſciences. There is alſo a printing preſs for books, both in Latin and Romance, and in this college they graduate as licentiates and doctors; to which I might add many other inſtances to enhance the value of theſe countries, ſuch as the mines of ſilver, and other diſcoveries, whereby proſperity and grandeur redound to the mother country. If all which I have now ſaid does not ſuffice, let the wiſe and learned read my hiſtory from beginning to end, and they will then confeſs, that there never exiſted in the world men who by bold achievement have gained more for their

their Lord and King, than we the brave conquerors; amongſt the moſt valiant of whom I was conſidered as one, and am the moſt ancient of all. I ſay again that I,—I myſelf,—I, am a true conqueror: and the moſt ancient of all.

I will now propoſe a few queſtions by way of dialogue with the immortal and illuſtrious goddeſs of Fame, who his ſeen, and proclaims through the world, our manifold, great and remarkable ſervices, to God, his Majeſty and all Chriſtendom, and cries with a loud voice, ſaying, that it is in juſtice and in reaſon that we ſhould have better eſtates and ſituations than others who have not ſerved his Majeſty here or elſewhere. The goddeſs alſo inquires where are our palaces, and manſions, adorned with diſtinguiſhing blazons, with ſculptures of our coats of arms, and monumental trophies of our heroic actions, in the ſame manner as thoſe cavaliers have who ſerved their king in Spain, our achievements being no way inferior to theirs, but on the contrary of moſt eminent merit, and not exceeded by any. The goddeſs of Fame alſo inquires for thoſe conquerors who eſcaped from cruel deaths, and for the tombs and monuments of thoſe who fell.

To theſe queſtions I reply as follows, with much brevity: Oh! excellent and illuſtrious Fame! deſired and ſought for by the good and virtuous, but ſhunned and hated by the malicious; why do you not exalt

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us as our merits deſerve? Know, goddeſs, that of five hundred and fifty ſoldiers who left the iſland of Cuba with Cortes, at the moment that I am writing this hiſtory, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-eight, no more than five are living, the reſt having been killed in the wars, ſacrificed to idols, or died naturally. In anſwer to your queſtion concerning their tombs and monuments, I tell you that their tombs are the maws of cannibal Indians, who devoured their limbs, and of tigers, ſerpents, and birds of prey, which feaſted on their mangled bodies. Such were their ſepulchres, and ſuch their monuments! but to me it appears that the names of thoſe ought to be written in letters of gold, who died ſo cruel a death, for the ſervice of God and his Majeſty, to give light to thoſe who were in darkneſs, and to procure wealth, which all men deſire.

The illuſtrious goddeſs next aſks me for an account of thoſe who came with Narvaez, and with Garay; to which I reply, that the number of the ſoldiers who came with the former was one thouſand three hundred, excluſive of the mariners, of whom not more than ten or eleven ſurvive, the reſt having fallen in the wars, and being ſacrificed and devoured. Thoſe who came with Garay, according to my account, including the three companies which landed at St. Juan de Ulua previous to the arrival of Garay himſelf, were in all one thouſand two hundred ſoldiers, moſt of whom were ſacrificed and devoured in

the province of Panuco. Fame alſo aſks for the fifteen ſoldiers who accompanied Lucas Vaſquez de Aillon, who loſt his life on the coaſt of Florida; to which I reply, that they are all dead. I alſo inform you, Oh excellent Fame! that there only remain alive at this moment five of the companions of Cortes, and we are very old, and bowed down with infirmities, and very poor, and with a heavy charge of ſons to provide for, and of daughters to marry off, and grandchildren to maintain, and little rent to do it withal! and thus we paſs our lives, in pain, in labour and in ſorrow.

Having now anſwered your queſtions, illuſtrious Fame, relative to our monuments, blazons, and palaces, I requeſt of you that henceforward you exalt to more effect your moſt virtuous and excellent voice, in order that our high proweſſes may be made known to the univerſe, and not be obſcured as they are by the ſlanders of the malignant. To this my requeſt moſt virtuous Fame replies, that ſhe will do ſo moſt willingly; and alſo, that ſhe is aſtoniſhed to find that we have not the beſt properties allotted to us in that country which we conquered, and which it was his Majeſty's orders ſhould be given to us, in like manner as the Marquis Cortes was rewarded; not indeed to the ſame extent, but moderately. The goddeſs alſo ſays, that the actions of the valiant and magnanimous Cortes are always to be moſt highly eſtimated, and conſidered amongſt thoſe moſt celebrated in hiſtory.

tory. She alſo at the ſame time obſerves, that in the hiſtories of Gomara and the Doctor Illeſcas and others, no mention is made of any of us, but they only ſay, "Cortes diſcovered," and "Cortes conquered;" the captains and ſoldiers remaining unnoticed; but ſhe has been very happy to find that all which I have narrated in my hiſtory is ſtrictly conformable to the truth, and that I follow matter of fact cloſely and literally, without running into ſervile praiſes, and that I do not depreciate many valiant captains and ſoldiers to exalt one, as is the caſe with Gomara and the other hiſtorians. The good goddeſs alſo promiſes me that ſhe will proclaim theſe truths wherever ſhe ſhall be, and further, that if this my hiſtory is publiſhed, it ſhall be credited, and its authenticity acknowledged wherever it is ſeen or heard, and that it ſhall obſcure and annul all others.

Beſides what I have here propoſed by way of dialogue, a certain doctor, an oyder of the court of royal audience of Guatimala, aſked me how it happened, that when Cortes wrote to his Majeſty, and alſo when he went the firſt time to Caſtille, he did not ſolicit for us, ſince we were, under God, the means whereby he acquired his marquiſate and government. To this I then replied, and now ſay, that when his Majeſty gave him the government, he therewith received the better part of this whole country, believing that he was to remain abſolute maſter thereof, and to have unlimited liberty to beſtow or deprive as he thought proper;

per; and this, it is ſuppoſed, was the reaſon why he would not and did not write on the ſubject. Alſo, at the time his Majeſty gave him his marquiſate, he ſolicited the government in the ſame manner that he had held it before; but it was then refuſed him, and he did not think of aſking any thing that might be ſerviceable to us, but only to himſelf.

Further, the veedor and factor, together with other cavaliers of Mexico, had repreſented to his Majeſty, that the Marquis had taken for himſelf the beſt provinces and towns of New Spain, and had aſſigned others to his friends and relations newly come from Caſtille, leaving very little for the royal patrimony; whereupon, as we afterwards learned, his Majeſty was pleaſed to order that all the overplus ſhould be divided amongſt us, the companions of Cortes, but the Emperor was at that time in Barcelona, preparing to embark for Flanders. Had Cortes immediately after the conqueſt divided this country into five parts, and aſſigned one of the richeſt and beſt of the fifths for his Majeſty; alloted one ſhare and a half for himſelf, for churches, monaſteries, and municipal properties, as alſo for a fund wherefrom his Majeſty could reward cavaliers who ſerved him in Italy or againſt the Turks and Moors; and divided the other two fifths and a half, by grants in perpetuity to us, we ſhould have been all ſatisfactorily provided for. As our Cæſar was ſo chriſtan a monarch, and as the conqueſt of this country coſt him nothing, he would have readily granted

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us theſe favours. But we at that time did not know how to apply for juſtice, nor to whom to repreſent our ſervices or our injuries, except to Cortes himſelf, who did in the buſineſs as he thought fit. We therefore remained with the little which had been aſſigned us, until we ſaw that Don Franciſco de Montejo, who went to wait upon his Majeſty in Europe, obtained the appointments of adelantado and governor of Yucatan, eſtates in Mexico, and other rewards. Diego de Ordas alſo, who went to court, obtained an encomienda of St. Jago, and diſtricts in New Spain. Then Don Pedro de Alvarado went to kiſs his Majeſty's feet, and was made adelantado and governor of Guatimala and Chiapa, commander of the order of St. Jago, and obtained diſtricts of lands. Laſt went Cortes, who was created a marquis, and appointed captain general of the South Sea.

When we the conquerors therefore ſaw, that thoſe who did not reach his Majeſty's preſence had no one to ſpeak in our favour, we ſent to petition that whatever lands thenceforward fell vacant, ſhould be diſtributed in perpetuities amongſt us, according as our claims were ſubſtantiated, as was the caſe before the firſt court of royal audience held in Mexico, whereof Nuno de Guzman was preſident. His Majeſty's expreſs directions to Nuno de Guzman were, to throw the whole property of New Spain into a maſs, and then to make the diviſions more equal, deducting in due proportion from immoderate grants

of

of Cortes; alſo, that to us the true conquerors ſhould be given the beſt diſtricts and of moſt rent, leaving the cities and great towns for his Majeſty's property. The Emperor alſo ordered that the vaſſals of Cortes ſhould be counted, leaving no more with him than his patent ſpecified; but what was to be done with the ſurplus I do not recollect. The reaſon why Nuno de Guzman and the oydors did not make this repartition in perpetuity was, that they were miſled by bad adviſers, whom, not to diſhonour, I will not name; but the perſons I have alluded to told them, that if the conquerors once found themſelves provided for, they would ceaſe to reſpect and be dependent on them, as was the caſe while they were compelled to ſupplicate for a ſubſiſtence: as alſo, by retaining, they kept the power of beſtowing the vacant lands at their pleaſure, and to the advantage of their own private intereſt. It is true that as diſtricts fell vacant, Guzman and the oydors conſtantly aſſigned them to conquerors, and coloniſts, to their ſatisfaction; and if that court was ſuperſeded, it was on account of the diſputes with Cortes, and of marking free Indians for ſlaves.

In the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty, I being in Old Spain, the licentiate De la Gaſca came from Peru, and with him D. Martin el Regente, a Dominican friar; and repairing to the court, which was then at Valladolid, his Majeſty promoted the aforeſaid father to the biſhopric of Las Charcas. At this

this period a council was formed, compoſed of D. Fra. B. de las Caſas, biſhop of Chiapa, D. Vaſco de Quiroga, biſhop of Mechoacan, and other cavaliers who came as agents from New Spain and Peru, together with ſome hidalgos who were brought by buſineſs to the court, and to this council I was alſo called, as being the moſt ancient of the conquerors of New Spain.

De la Gaſca and the other Peruvians had brought with them great quantities of treaſure, as well for their own uſe as for his Majeſty, the latter being ſent from Seville to Auguſta in Germany, where the Emperor then was, and in his company our moſt happy Don Philip king of the Spains, our lord his dear and much beloved ſon, whom God guard. At that time certain of the Peruvian cavaliers waited on his Majeſty with the treaſure, and to petition that he would cauſe the allotment of lands in perpetuity to be made. It ſeems alſo, that previous to this time a petition to the ſame effect had been preſented from New Spain by Gonzalo Lopez, and Alonzo de Villanueva, who had been ſent as procuradors or agents from Mexico. It ſo happened that juſt then the biſhopric of Palencia fell vacant, and was beſtowed on the licentiate De la Gaſca, who was alſo made Conde de Pernia, on account, as was ſaid at the court, of the ſervices rendered in Peru, which was then at peace.

His

His Majeſty was pleaſed, in regard to the repartition of lands in perpetuity, to order, that the Marquis de Mondejar, preſident of the royal council of the Indies, the licentiates Gutierre Velaſquez, Tello de Sandoval, Gregorio Lopez, and Brivieſca, and the Doctor Hernan Perez de la Fuente, oydors of that court, together with cavaliers of other royal councils, ſhould aſſemble, to conſider and ſee how the repartition ſhould be made, as was beſt for the ſervice of God, and for his Majeſty's intereſt.

When theſe cavaliers were met in the houſe of Pero Gonzalez de Leon, where was eſtabliſhed the royal council of the Indies, it was propoſed in that very illuſtrious aſſembly, that the perpetual repartition ſhould take place in New Spain and in Peru: I am not certain that Grenada and Bobotan were included, but am inclined to think that they were; and the reaſons offered in ſupport of the meaſure were holy and good. It was argued, that if the lands were granted in perpetuity, the proprietors would for their own intereſts treat the natives better, and pay more attention to the converſion of them to our holy faith; that if they ſuffered from ſickneſs or misfortune they would be attended to like their children, and the rents alleviated. The proprietors would alſo go into improvements, planting vines and breeding cattle; diſputes and litigations about lands and boundaries would ceaſe, and the office of viſitadors or inſpectors would be unneceſſary. The minds alſo of the ſoldiers would

would be tranquillized, in knowing that the presidents and governors had not the power of bestowing lands, when they fell vacant, on their clients and favourites. His Majesty also in doing this would exonerate his royal conscience, in recompensing those who had served him faithfully. To these, many other good reasons were added. It was also proposed to deprive the turbulent and rebellious in Peru of their districts. After all this had been well debated and considered in the illustrious assembly, we proceeded to give our opinions in favour of the perpetual repartition.

It was then opposed by the bishop of Chiapa, his associate Fra. Rodrigo of the order of St. Dominic, the bishop of Palencia, the marquis of Mondejar, and two oydors of the royal council of his Majesty. The marquis of Mondejar did not however speak upon the occasion, but remained as it were on the look out to see which party was likely to carry the question. The arguments used by the others against the repartition were, that many in Peru had now life estates, who, so far from deserving perpetuities, merited confiscation, and that if peace was once established in that country, if the soldiers who were unprovided for saw that there was no fund for that purpose, they would become mutinous and cause new troubles. The bishop of Mechoacan, who was of our party, hereupon asked the licentiate De la Gasca, how it had happened that he did not chastise the mutineers, as he very well knew them; whereas on the contrary he had

had given them lands. To this the other replied, laughing, that he had hanged and quartered many of them, and thought it no ſmall achievement to have eſcaped from amongſt them ſafe and ſound. More was alſo ſaid on this ſubject.

It was propoſed, and approved by many preſent, that the few of the real conquerors of New Spain who now remained, including thoſe who came with Cortes, with Narvaez, and with Garay, ſhould receive perpetuities, referring the other matter to future conſideration. As ſoon as this propoſition was made, the other party moved that all further proceedings ſhould be poſtponed until the return of his Majeſty to Caſtille, becauſe in an affair of ſuch importance his preſence was neceſſary. It was then urged by the biſhop of Mechoacan and other cavaliers, as well as myſelf, that the perpetuities might be granted in New Spain, leaving the Peruvian procuradors to act as they thought fit, this being conformable to his Majeſty's declarations and inſtructions in our favour. This now brought on much debate; for we inſiſted that whatever reaſons might be againſt the granting perpetuities in Peru, could be of no avail againſt us in New Spain, conſidering our great ſervices to his Majeſty and all Chriſtendom. But all we ſaid was of no effect with the members of the royal council of the Indies, the biſhop Fra. Bartholome de las Caſas, Fra. Rodrigo his aſſociate, and the biſhop of Las Charcas. They ſaid that on the return of his Majeſty from Auguſta

guſta in Germany every thing ſhould be arranged to the ſatisfaction of the conquerors, and thus the affair dropped for the preſent.

Intelligence of theſe matters being conveyed by expreſs to Mexico, the conquerors there propoſed to ſend procuradors, to apply to his Majeſty for our intereſt, excluſively. In conſequence, after my return from the court I was written to, here, in this city of Guatimala, by captain Andres de Tapia, F. Moreno Medrano, and J. de Limpias Caravajal, "the deaf," giving me an account of their intention, and of thoſe conquerors concerned with them, amongſt whom I was put down as one of the moſt ancient. I accordingly went round with the letter to the other conquerors ſettled in this city, to raiſe a ſum by ſubſcription for the purpoſe. This project failed from want of money. It was then determined that the conquerors in Mexico, conjointly with the whole of the community, ſhould ſend procuradors to Caſtille; but neither was this carried into effect. At a ſubſequent period, our unconquered king and lord Don Philip, (whom God preſerve, and may he live many years in augmentation of power) was pleaſed to command by his royal ordinances that the conquerors and their poſterity ſhould be provided for, attending in the firſt inſtance to thoſe who were married, as may be ſeen in the royal ſchedules.

When

When I had written out fairly this my history, two licentiates requested me to lend it to them for their perusal, in order that they might know in detail the occurrences which happened in the conquest of New Spain, and also that they might see what difference existed between my account and those of Gomara and the doctor Illescas, relative to the heroic actions of the Marquis del Valle. I accordingly presented this book to them for their perusal, with the respect which is due to scholars from a poor illiterate person like myself, desiring them at the same time to make no alteration whatever herein, as what I had written was the strict truth. As soon as they had read it, one of them, who was a great rhetorician, and vain of his knowledge, began to praise the book, and expressed his surprise at my memory, and at my being able to carry in it such a series of matter, from the time I first came to these countries.

The licentiates also observed, that in regard to my style or language, it was conformable to that in ordinary use in Old Castille, and that as such it was the more agreeable, not being embarrassed with flowery, affected phrases, such as are made use of by historians in general. They also observed that it seemed to them as if I praised myself greatly, in the battles which I give an account of, whereas I ought to have left that to be done by others; and that I should have given my witnesses, testimonies, and quotations, as authorities for what I wrote, and not have said drily, "that

I did; this I saw;" it not being conformable to the custom of historical writing; for I am not a witness for myself. To these observations I then replied, as I do now, that in the year one thousand five hundred and forty, the Marquis del Valle wrote a letter to his Majesty, giving an account of me and my services, how I had come twice to this country on voyages of discovery previous to his expedition, how he had often been an eye witness of my conduct as a brave soldier in battle, as well in Mexico as in other places, how I accompanied him in his expedition to Honduras and Higueras, and many other particulars, which, to avoid prolixity, I will not relate. The most illustrious Viceroy also, Don Alonzo de Mendoza, wrote to his Majesty informing him of what he had learned relative to me from the captains by whose side I fought, and his account was in all respects conformable to that of the Marquis del Valle. Proofs to the same purport were also presented on my part to the royal council of the Indies in the year one thousand five hundred and forty.

Now, said I, gentlemen licentiates, are not the Marquis del Valle, the viceroy D. A. de Mendoza, and my proofs, good witnesses? but if they will not suffice, I will produce you the Emperor our lord Don Carlos the fifth, who by his royal letter, sealed with his royal seal, commanded all viceroys and presidents, that, respecting the many and good services which I had rendered, benefits should be conferred upon me and

and mine. The original letters are now in my poſſeſſion, and the copies depoſited at court in the archives of the ſecretary Ochoa de Luyado. Such was my anſwer to the obſervation of the licentiates.

But, to return to my ſubject, if more teſtimony is wanting, look at New Spain, which is three times larger than our Caſtille, and more thickly inhabited by Spaniards, and the great wealth which it ſends to Caſtille. But I have obſerved that the hiſtorians Gomara and Illeſcas never choſe to relate our heroic actions, leaving all our value and honours in the dark, where they would have remained were it not for this my true hiſtory, and aſſigning ſuch great merit to Cortes; in which, although they were right to a certain degree, yet they ought not at the ſame time to have forgotten us.

Of the achievements of Cortes a part alſo of the honour falls to me, for I was one of the moſt forward in every battle by his ſide, as I was in many others when he ſent me under different captains to conquer provinces, as is found written in my hiſtory, how, when, and where.

Alſo, when Cortes returned to Europe the firſt time, to kiſs his Majeſty's feet, he informed him that he had many valiant captains and companions in the Mexican wars, and who he believed did not yield to the moſt famous in ancient hiſtory. Of this praiſe a proportionate

proportionate ſhare falls to me. Further, at Algiers, he ſaid much in praiſe of his companions the conquerors. Of this I come in for my portion, as I was one of them.

As to what the licentiates ſaid, that I praiſe myſelf ſo much, and that I ought to leave it to be done by others, I ſay, in common life it is the cuſtom of neighbours to ſpeak of each other as each deſerves; but he who never was in the wars with us, nor ſaw them, nor heard of them, how can he ſpeak of us? Were the birds which flew over our heads while in battle to give accounts of us? or the clouds? Who then was to ſpeak our praiſes but we ourſelves? Indeed, gentlemen licentiates, ſaid I, had you found that I detracted from the honour due to one of our valiant captains or ſoldiers, and aſcribed it to myſelf, then you might juſtly blame me. But the fact is, that I do not praiſe myſelf ſo much as I ought.

I will now make a compariſon, although on one ſide the ſubject of it is very high, and on the other a poor ſoldier like myſelf. Hiſtorians ſay that the great emperor and warrior Julius Cæſar was in fifty-three pitched battles. I ſay that I was in many more battles than Julius Cæſar, as may be ſeen in this my hiſtory. Hiſtorians alſo ſay that Julius Cæſar was brave and active in battle, and that, when he had time, he at night committed to writing, with his own hand, his heroic actions, although he had many hiſtorians,

hiſtorians, not chooſing to entruſt the office to them. Truly this happened many years ago, and may or may not be the caſe; whereas what I relate occurred yeſterday, as it may be ſaid. It is therefore not extraordinary if I relate the battles in which I fought, that in future ages it ſhould be ſaid, "thus did Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo," in order that my ſons and their poſterity ſhould enjoy the praiſes of their anceſtor, in the manner that many cavaliers and lords of vaſſals, in the preſent day, do the fames and blazons of their predeceſſors. I will however drop this ſubject, leſt the detracting malicious, to whom theſe things are odious, ſhould charge me with digreſſing too much. There are alſo conquerors now living to contradict me if I were in error, and the world is ſo malevolent that any ſuch thing could hardly paſs without animadverſion; but the narrative itſelf is the beſt teſtimony of its veracity.

I will now enumerate and particularize the various battles and other matters of warfare in which I was preſent. They are as follows: At the point of Cotoche, with captain F. H. de Cordova. At Champoton, a battle, wherein half our companions were killed. In Florida, where we landed to procure water. Under captain J. de Grijalva, a ſecond battle in Champoton. In my third voyage under Cortes, at Tabaſco, two pitched battles. On our arrival in New Spain, the battle of Cingapacinga. Shortly after, three pitched battles with the Tlaſcalans. The affair of

of Cholula. On our entry into Mexico I was at the ſeizure of Montezuma; I do not mention it as an affair of war, but on account of its great boldneſs. In four months after, the attack upon Narvaez, whom we under Cortes defeated with two hundred and ſeventy-ſix men, he having one thouſand three hundred. The relief of Alvarado, who was beſieged by the Mexicans, when they made war upon us during eight days and nights, and killed above eight hundred and ſeventy ſoldiers; I conſider ſix battles as having happened during this period, at which I was preſent. The battle of Obtumba. A battle at Tepeaca. Under Cortes a battle at Tezcuco. Two field battles, in one of which I was wounded in the throat by a lance. Two actions concerning the fields of maize. In the expedition round the lake, when we made that raſh and inconſiderate attack upon the fortreſſes named the Rocks of the Marquis. The battle of Cuernavaca. Three battles at Suchimillico. The ſiege of Mexico, which laſted ninety-three days, during which I was engaged, as I find by my account, in above eighty battles and ſkirmiſhes. After the conqueſt, when I was ſent to pacify the provinces of Guacacualco, Chiapa, and the Zapotecans. In Chamula and Cuitlan two engagements. In Teapa and Chimatan two engagements; here I was wounded badly in the throat. I forgot to mention in its place, how, after our flight from Mexico, we were purſued for nine days, and fought four battles. In the expedition to Higueras and Honduras, an action at

Culacotu, where my horſe, which coſt me ſix hundred crowns, was killed. After my return to Mexico I went againſt the Zapotecans and Minxes in the mountains. I do not mention numberleſs other engagements and dangers in which I have been, as it would be endleſs to detail them all. Nor do I chooſe to ſay how I was one of the firſt who came to lay ſiege to Mexico, three or four days at leaſt before Cortes.

I have therefore, according to this account, been preſent in one hundred and nineteen battles and engagements; and it is not extraordinary if I praiſe myſelf, as what I ſay is the mere truth. Nor are theſe old ſtories or hiſtories of Romans, of many ages paſt; for evident and true are the many and notable ſervices which I have rendered; firſt to God, then to his Majeſty, and all Chriſtendom: and I give thanks and praiſes to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that I eſcaped from all dangers, to make theſe things manifeſt; and I alſo ſay, and praiſe myſelf thereon, that I have been in as many battles and engagements as, according to hiſtory, the Emperor Henry the Fourth.

FINIS.

NOTES.

THE author frequently miſtakes dates; it has therefore been judged neceſſary to inſert them in the heads of chapters according to the moſt correct accounts.

Part I. Chapter III.—Although the appointment of Cortes took place before, the fleet did not ſail for the continent until 1519.

JUL 3 1935